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MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY
OF
POPE ALEXANDER VI

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FOR A HISTORY OF

Pope Alexander VI

HIS RELATIVES AND HIS TIME

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VOLUME V

Alexander VI and the Turks. His Death and Character.

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INTRODUCTION

A great part of the acts of pope Alexander VI seems to belong to his temporal administration ; but their object was mainly spiritual : the conservation of Holy religion in Europe against the cruel invasions of Mohammedanism. Numerous, varied and most generous were his efforts to this effect. They, with his efforts for the liberation of his subjects from the tyranny of their pretty princes, form the substance of all his politics. Their details are not to be found in published histories, and their relation here is not only an act of justice towards the great Pope, but also a matter of interest to the intelligent observer of the late European war. This fifth volume commences with the report of Alexander's untired efforts in gaining for Europe at least a temporary relief from barbarian assaults.

Ungrateful historians, started by revengeful culprits, have completed their accusations of the protector of Europe by casting upon him the ignominy of an unintended, yet criminal self-murder. We here refute the evident slander and give the particulars of his sickness and exemplary death.

On this ocasion we further examine his slandered moral character in all the details which we could find objected to him.

We finish our work at last, by giving, in a small annex, the appreciation of various later historians of the reliability that can be placed on the numerous contemporary authors, who speak of pope Alexander VI.

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CHAPTER I.

First aid of Alexander VI against the Mohammedans.

ARTICLE I. — THE POPE'S AID AGAINST THE MOORS.

As appears from the foregoing volume, the aims of the internal policy of pope Alexander VI were to free Rome and the Pontifical States from the rebellious assaults of his vassals, the kings of Naples and the Roman barons ; to deliver the various cities and territories of the Church from their destructive factions and from the petty princes, who, appointed as governors by the Pontiffs, acted as independent lords and had become oppressors of their subjects ; and to procure justice, prosperity and happiness to the common people confided to his care. We have seen that he almost completely succeeded in the attainment of these great designs. Unaided, as he was, or rather opposed by the other powers of Italy, he failed, however, in his wish of keeping the peninsula independent of any but native princes [1].

His foreign politics had but one object. They were uniquely directed towards the preservation of the Christian religion and civilization from the devastating incursions of the Mohammedans, especially of the cruel Turks. With this end in view he fostered union and peace among the Catholic princes of all Europe, and urged them to combine their forces

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1. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. XXXIV, 42, 88, 150, 151, 242, 243, 245, 246, 476 and vol. II, pp. 23, 33 footn. 38 ; Burchard, Diarium, t. II, p. 674 or Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Instructiones Diversae, XXX-II, f° 134 ; Petrucelli della Gatina, Hist. diplomatique des Conclaves, vol. I, p. 363 ; de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Histor., vol. XXIX, p. 412; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 11, vol. III, p. 488.

against their common enemy. For this purpose he labored with admirable perseverance, spent great sums of money and offered to sacrifice his own person.

The kings of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella,conquered the province and city of Granada on the 2d of January, 1492 [2]. Pope Alexander VI, then cardinal Roderic de Borgia, liberally contributed towards the Roman celebration, in thanksgiving for the restoration to Christianity of the last Spanish possessions of the Mohammedans, variously called Arabs, Saracens or Moors. Soon after, pope Innocent VIII, to give a token of gratitude to the victorious monarchs, who, until then, were named the Illustrious kings of Castilla, Leon, Aragon and Granada, decorated the person of Ferdinand with the title of " Catholic King ". Thus had been honored, before him, the Gothic king Recared, by the national council of Toledo, after he had purged Spain from the Arian heresy [3], as also Alfonso, king of Oviedo or the Asturias, and Peter II, king of Aragon [4].

When, in the year 1494, pope Alexander VI heard that Ferdinand had in mind to attack the Moors in Mauretania, and to reclaim that once Christian country, he spurred him on to give effect to that design, and gave him the honorary title of Ferdinand " the African " [5] ; or, at least, gave to him and to his successors the title of king of the African domains, which he should obtain by dint of arms [6].

To further encourage Ferdinand and Isabella in the execution of their Christian enterprises, the Pontiff directed his

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2. Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. II, pp. 92, 94.

3. Solorzano, de Indiarum Jure, Lib. II. Cap. 24, p. 634.

4. Solorzano, ubi supra ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. II, Cap. 40, f° 110 ; Blanca, Ad Regum effigies Inscriptiones, p. 26 ; Becchetti, Ultimi Quattro Secoli, vol. IV, p. 261.

5. Blanca, ubi supra, p. 38 ; Moroni, Dizionario di Erudizione, vol. I, p. 237.

6. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 249vo.

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Chancery to address them no longer as Kings of their various provinces, but as Illustrious Kings of Spain, which proved to be most agreeable to them ; though at first, it caused some displeasure to Emmanuel, king of Portugal [7].

Towards the end of the year 1496, when the French king, Charles VIII, had refused, when asked by the Pope to lead his army against the Turks, and had, instead, weakened the powers of Italy to resist them, through his ambitious expedition against the kingdom of Naples, which was rescued by Spanish troops, the Pontiff was so exasperated, that he wanted to deprive him of the title of " Most Christian " King; and, had it not been for the opposition of a few cardinals, he would have transferred it to the kings of Spain. He contented himself, however, with confirming upon Ferdinand the title of " Catholic " King, and extending it also to his successors forever [8].

Not only did pope Alexander VI encourage warfare against the Moors by merely bestowing honors and titles on the Christian champions of Spain, but he also largely provided them with the needed men and money. The Cistercian Military Order of Calatrava, the Augustinians of Santiago de Spada and the Cistercians of Alcantara were, at the time, institutions so powerful by the number of their brave knights and the large sums of their yearly revenues, that their authority was almost equal to that of the Spanish monarch himself, who was anxious to obtain command over them. When Garcias Lopez de Padilla, the Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava, died, pope Innocent VIII named king Ferdinand to be the Administrator of the Grand Mastership, thus procuring him a phalanx of veteran soldiers and a new income of forty thousand ducats. He also reserved for him the master-

7. Çurita, ubi supra.
8. Çurita, ibid.; Oldoinus, Addit. ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff. refer. to Mariana ; Becchetti, Ult. Quattro Secoli, vol. VI, p. 261, refer. to Raynaldi.

ship of the two other Military Orders, to be obtained at their first vacancy [9], and associated with him, in their administration, his royal spouse, Isabella.

On the 19th of March, 1493, pope Alexander VI renewed those concessions of his predecessor [10]. After the death of Alfonso de Cardenas, Grand Master of the Order of Santiago de Spada, he made the Kings its conjoint Administrators, on the 1st of August, 1493 [11]. By brief of the 21st of June, 1494, he procured a sufficient and honorable living to John de Cuñiga, who was willing to resign the Grand Mastership of Alcantara, and by the same letters, he granted the administration of the Order conjointly to Ferdinand and Isabella [12]. By this last bestowal the King's exchequer was enriched by an additional yearly income of forty-five thousand ducats [13], and he was thus enabled to defray more of the heavy expenses, which they had constantly to undergo, in order to protect the coasts of their newly acquired province from the corsairs and Moorish flotillas that attempted to recuperate or to pillage them.

The need of the Pontiff's assistance continued to be pressing, and pope Alexander VI repeatedly granted the requests of the Spanish court, by conceding certain shares in ecclesiastical revenues and by publishing several indulgences, cruciatas and tithes, the temporal proceeds of which were destined to help the monarchs in their struggle, and he steadily replenished their coffers with great treasure, and the ranks of their armies with thousands of unpaid volunteer soldiers.

9. Çurita, ubi supra, Lib. I. Cap. 19, fo 22vo ; Braun, in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexicon, Art. Calatrava.

10. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III. Lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 60.

11. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III. Regest. 869, f° 162.

12. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Copia di Brevi e Bolle d'Alessandro VI riguardanti la Spagna, f° 53, from Lib. III. Secret. Alex. VI, f° 170 ; Çurita, ubi supra, Lib. I. Cap. 19, fo 22vo ; Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 354.

13. Braun, in Kirchenlexicon, Art. Alcantara.

Emmanuel, the king of Portugal, who was an ally of the Spanish kings against the Mohammedans of Africa, and intended to conquer the province of Morocco, equally received the aid and favors of the Pontiff.

We have noticed some of the papal contributions towards the warfare against the Moors, and here give the main text of one of them, as Document 193. Nor should we forget to notice the special indulgence granted by pope Alexander VI to the lord and people of the Spanish village of Baena, as a reward for their courage and devotion in helping towards the defeat of the infidel king of Granada [14].

Mohammedanism was, with the Moors, receding from southwestern Europe at the time of the elevation of pope Alexander VI ; but it was steadily advancing into the center of Christianity, through the growing power and infamous brutality of the Ottomans or Turks.

After Mohammed II had, on May 29th, 1453, captured Constantinople, he soon conquered the countries of Thrace and Macedonia. Servia had become a Turkish province in 1458, and the Peloponesus in 1460. In the year 1461, he put an end to the empire of Trebizond, and, two years later, he annexed Bosnia and Slavonia to his empire and fought successfully against the Venetian republic. The Turks commenced their destructive incursions into the Austrian territories of Croatia and Carniola in the year 1469, and in 1473 they raided Carinthia. All over the country they plundered the villages and set them on fire, devastated the fields and butchered the inhabitants. Mutilated corpses were to be found everywhere on the soil red with blood, while the garden fences presented the hideous spectacle of children impaled on their pickets. The pashas of Bosnia sent forth year after year

14. Cardinal Hergenroether, Leonis X. Regesta, p. 210, no. 3561.

large bands of warriors, who made incursions into the Austrian borderlands, as far as Salzburg, robbing and murdering, and sparing the life of but a few healthy young maids and youths, whom they compelled to apostatize and to fill their harems and the ranks of their most ruthless soldiers, the janizaries. In the year 1477, they invaded northern Italy and laid waste the valleys between the Isonzo, the Tagliamento and the Piave rivers. King Ferdinand of Naples directed, in 1478, the Turkish troops to the possessions of the Venetians, who took revenge two years later and convoyed with their fleet the Sultan's vessels, which, in July 1480, landed his army near Otranto in Apulia, where twelve thousand people were put to a cruel death, and, an other ten thousand were dragged into slavery. During the following years many islands and cities, East of the Adriatic sea, successively fell into the hands of the Mohammedan invaders. In 1492, the Turks had already five times penetrated into Styria, six times into Carniola and seven times into Carinthia. In 1491, they had made tributary the prince of Vallachia or Roumania [15].

ARTICLE II. — THE POPE OPPOSES THE TURKS ACQUIRING MORE EUROPEAN TERRITORY.

The Sovereign Pontiffs of this dreadful period did all that was in their power, to stem the progress of the Ottoman emperors and the ravages of their barbarous soldiery. They stirred up the courage and zeal for the faith among the Catholic princes, and invited them to congresses in order that they might agree on united action against the Infidels. They all exhausted their treasuries to promote the holy cause.

15. Janssen, Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes, 9te Aufl. Bd. I, s. 511, f. ; Sagredo, Memorie Storiche de' Monarchi Ottomani, p. 105 ; Ortelius, Chronologia, p. 10.

Pope Calixtus III pawned his mitre and silverware to create and support a not inconsiderable fleet, which, however, in consequence of the indifference and inaction of the selfish sovereigns of his time did not procure the expected results. Pope Pius II, unsuccessful in his patient efforts to assemble the envoys of the European kings and potentates in Mantua and to devise with them a general expedition against their common enemy, resolved to call around him their subjects, the common Christian people, and to place himself, with his cardinals, at the head of the naval forces of the church, that were to proceed from Ancona against the Turkish power. But he died, in view of his sails, while waiting for a number of tardy Venetian triremes, the only assistance he could expect from the Christian princes.

Pope Alexander VI, when yet a cardinal, had generously incurred financial ruin, by building and equipping one of the best war vessels of the fleet of Pius II; and he was in Ancona ready to embark with the courageous Pontiff thereby bravely facing a probable death, that he might encourage the crusaders and, during battle, lift up his hands in prayer, to obtain victory from Heaven.

No sooner had cardinal de Borgia been raised to the chair of St. Peter than he manifested the principal aim of his pontificate. In announcing to the people of Terni and to archduke Sigismond his unanimous election, he asked their prayers, that God may give him strength to repel and destroy, with the aid of Catholic kings and princes, the power of the perfidious Turks [16]. On the occasion of the solemn obeisances made to him at the beginning of his reign, he repeatedly declared his intention of following the example of his uncle, Calixtus III, and of attacking the fierce enemies of the Chris-

16. See Document 87.

tian nations, and he sought the assistance of the rulers, doing homage to him [17].

Pope Alexander VI well knew that the first condition of possible success was peace and concord among the European powers and potentates and their concerted action ; and he was ever anxious to settle or to prevent wars and dissensions among them.

Valori, the Florentine ambassador in Rome, tells us [18] that the Pontiff, already in the commencement of January 1493, had impressed upon the Christian princes the need of mutual understanding and of a general expedition against the Turks. He was greatly rejoiced by the favorable answer of the Seigniory of Florence, which Valori read to him ; and, to set an example by preserving peace in Italy, he refused to make war on Virginio Ursini, of whom he had reasons to complain.

On the 16th of the following February, he offered to emperor Frederic his good services and, if agreeable, the sending of a legate, to procure peace between his son, Maximilian, king of the Romans, and Charles VIII, king of France ; so that arrangements might be made for a holy and most necessary expedition against the inhuman enemy of the Christian name [19].

On the 16th of April, 1493, pope Alexander VI concluded with Venice a league that was mainly directed against the Sultan of Constantinople, and stipulated, Malipiero says, that, in case of war, the Pope should hand over to the Republic the Sultan's brother, Zizim, of whom they might avail themselves. The league was published on the feast of St. Mark, the 25th [20].

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17. B. Platina, De Vita et moribus Summ. Pontiff, Addit. ad. ap. Leonetti, Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 519, and ap. Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 556.

18. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 623.

19. Vienna, K. und K. Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Oesterr. 1493, 16 Febr.

20. Domen. Malipiero, Annal. Venet., ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 1, vol. VII, p. 142.

But, while the Pontiff was endeavoring to reconcile the Christian rulers and to stir them up against the cruel Mohammedans, the pasha of Bosnia, renewing his former practice, made again, during the months of July and August, a destructive incursion into Carniola, Styria and Croatia, setting the towns on fire and putting their inhabitants to the sword. Emperor Maximilian succeeded in driving back the fiends, but only after they had satiated their thirst for blood, and had adducted as slaves more than ten thousand of the most promising people of the ravaged countries [21].

During their raid in the German provinces, the Turkish troops had entered the territory of Segna or Zengg, in the western part of Croatia and threatened this city with destruction. Its people, abandoned by their emperor, had recourse to the common father, pope Alexander VI, and he granted them at once both material and spiritual assistance. On the 31st of July, 1493, he issued in their favor a bull granting a plenary indulgence, to all Christians who, after a worthy confession, would visit the church of Segna, during the feast and octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and would contribute an alms, that was to be expended exclusively for the defence of the city and its district. He sent, moreover, a special envoy to bear up the courage of the defenders of that place [22].

ARTICLE III. — WARS OF HUNGARY WITH THE TURKS.

Already in the previous month of February, 1493, Alibeg, one of Sultan Bajazeth's captains, had invaded the kingdom of

21. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. I, I, f° 27; Raynaldi, Ann. Eccles. ad an. 1493, no. IX ; Janssen, Gesch. des Deutsch. Volkes, Bd. I, s. 514 ; Becchetti, Ult. Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 224.

22. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I. Lib. VI, Regest. 777, f° 171vo ; Theiner, Monum. Poloniae et Lithuan., t. II, p. 266.

Hungary, and he was returning, laden with spoils, when king Ladislas overtook him, on the 1st day of March, recovered the plunder and slew a great number of his soldiers. On the 3d of this month the news of this victory was read to the Pontiff and to the cardinals by the Hungarian ambassador in Rome, the bishop of Netro [23]. But Alibeg, longing for revenge, entered Hungary again with a larger army, in the beginning of the following September, and laid waste all of its southern territory, as far as the city of Gyula. Here he was put to flight by two captains of king Ladislas, Emericus Drencenius, and Bernard Frangipane, at the head of thousands of hastily gathered countrymen. Yet, as the Christian chiefs did not agree in their tactics, the Turks, who noticed their discord, suddenly turned around and, on the 18th of that month, won a decisive battle against them, taking prisoner Drencenius and many of his men, and leaving on the field the corpses of Frangipane and of more than seven thousand Hungarians [24].

This grave misfortune, together with the recent calamities of Croatia and adjoining provinces, greatly alarmed the Roman Pontiff, who hastened to procure the means towards an efficacious resistance against further irruptions, which the Turks were expected to make into Hungary and contiguous countries. On the 18th of October, 1493, Ursus Orsini, bishop of Tiano [25], was sent by the Pope, as a Legate " a latere ", to Ladislas, king of Hungary and Bohemia, to John Albert, king of Poland, and to all the princes of the territories subject to both kings. Besides winning over to Catholic truth and unity the remnants of Bohemian heresies, the great object of his mission was to reconcile the two

23. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 63; Bonfinius, Rerum Hungar. Decades, Dec. 5, Cap. 3.

24. Ortelius, Chronologia, p.37; Sagredo, Memorie Storiche, p. 105.—According to Bonfinius, pope Alexander VI requested Bajazeth to spare the life of Drencenius : Rerum Hungar., p. 707.

25. " Episcopo Theanen ", not of Trani, as Becchetti says, Ult. Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 225. Trani was an archdiocese.

monarchs, to bring to an end the mutual dissensions and intestine wars, which kept the nobility and the common people of those kingdoms divided ; and to establish a perfect agreement, peace and union among them, and thus enable them to band together and lead their separate forces, reunited against the fierce and powerful enemies of all Christian nations.

The king of Poland, John Albert, considered for a long time the pressing arguments of the Sovereign Pontiff, but he feared that the co-operation of the Christian princes might fail him. On the other hand, Bajazeth was overloading him with rich presents and promising a lasting peace. Unfortunately, the Polish King had more confidence in the Sultan than in his own brother Ladislas and the other monarchs of Europe, and finally concluded with the Turks a truce for three years [26].

It was also the duty of the papal legate to publish, in the lands of king Ladislas, an important bull of pope Alexander VI, a Cruciata or plenary indulgence to all Christians of Hungary and Bohemia, who would assist in the expedition which the warlike monarch intended to undertake ; not only to prevent Bajazeth's farther advance, but also to regain territories already overpowered by the Sultan. The indulgence was the same as that of a Jubilee, or as the one which former Pontiffs used to concede to the crusaders who went to the deliverance of the Holy Land ; and it would, on the condition of a good confession and absolution, be gained by :

All who would enlist in the King's army for the space of six months, or would die in the service, before the end of that time.

Also by anyone who would, at his own expense, send a man to replace him in the army, the indulgence to be gained also by this substitute, if the latter were poor.

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26. Bzovius, Ref. to Bembo, Hist. Venet., Lib. I.

Again, the plenary pardon was conceded to all religious communities of either sex, who would pay, for every ten of their members, one man who should represent them under arms, for the stipulated length of time ; and to this man himself, should he be poor.

Likewise, if ten or more laymen would, according to their means, combine to pay the stipends of one soldier, taking their place in the King's army, all of them together with their substitute, if poor, would gain the indulgence.

The same full remission and pardon was to be obtained by all who would minister to the needs of the combatants : by physicians, druggists and surgeons ; by cobblers, cooks and butchers, by workmen in metal and wood, cartwrights, machinists and artisans of all kinds ; by merchants of medicines, food and other necessities, and by their conveyers and all who, by advice or act, would assist in transportation ; and by all who would add to the comfort of the soldiers or make them more willing to fight.

The indulgence could also be gained by the preachers of the word of God, by those who would publish the present bull, or celebrate masses or other divine offices in the camps for the army, and as well as by the women attending the sick and the wounded, in whose service they would be engaged.

Finally, the indulgence could be gained by all such persons as would promote the holy expedition with a sum of money determined, according to their standing, by the papal legate. These contributions were to be deposited in chests or boxes placed in the churches for that purpose.

All who would make themselves worthy of the papal grant, were allowed to choose any secular or regular priest for confessor, who was authorized to absolve them from all sins and crimes, with the exception of conspiring against the Supreme Pontiff, of preventing by violence the rendition of justice by the Roman court, and of a few other excesses.

To the gaining of the general pardon were also attached great favors and privileges of different kinds, while all other indulgences were suspended for a year in Hungary [27].

Such a bull could not fail to strongly arouse the good Catholic people of Hungary, and soon a great number of volunteers presented themselves to flight in the holy war, and the pecuniary offerings of the people richly covered the outlay for food, arms and ammunition. Paul Kinisius, count of Temesvar, was enabled, the next winter, to take revenge for the recent defeat of Drencenius and Frangipane. He crossed the frozen Danube into Moesia or northern Servia and captured two castles of the Turkish governor Alibeg, who was absent, robbed his treasures and abducted his wife and child, devastated his country and returned with great plunder [28].

The mission and work of bishop Orsini seems to have produced the most satisfactory results ; for, even after Kinisius' predatory incursion, the Turkish sultan did not venture to direct his army, the following year, against the Hungarian kingdom. Satisfied with his acquisitions on the mainland, as Sagredo suggestively states [29], Bajazeth now prepared for naval conquests.

ARTICLE IV. — FURTHER HELP AFFORDED BY ALEXANDER VI.

The Sultan's stealthy equipment of a fleet in Constantinople caused much anxiety and fear to the Venetian republic and especially to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, whose headquarters, the island of Rhodes, was likely to be the object of one of his first attacks [30].

The Venetians lost no time in preparing for naval warfare

27. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar. An. I, II, t. VIII, Regest. 779, fo 39vo.
28. Ortelius, Chronologia, p. 37.
29. Memorie Storiche, p. 105.
30. Sagredo, Memorie, p. 107.

against the Turks. They also applied for help to the Pontiff, who, considering that, while Venice would protect its temporal interests, it would also fight for the cause of holy faith, promptly granted them all possible assistance. Sagredo reports [31] that he not only conceded to the Seigniory the third part of all ecclesiastical revenues in the territories of the Republic, but also, according to his expression, opened the treasuries of Heaven, and granted many indulgences to the faithful who should, for the defence of religion, unlock their treasuries on earth. Venice thus received the sum of seven hundred and nine pound of gold, " settecento e nove libre d'oro ", or, as cardinal Bembo states [32], " Summa omnis auri librae septies centies et nonies eaque amplius ". The Pontiff also promised to equip at his own expense twenty galleys, of which fifteen were afterwards armed in Venice and the others in Ancona [33].

Pope Alexander, who had been, when yet a cardinal, the the official protector of the Knights of St. John, was greatly allarmed at the new danger of those faithful champions against Mohammedanism ; and he encouraged and strengthened them on this occasion ; first, by a bull of the 30th of June, 1494, by which he confirmed all their possessions, privileges and exemptions obtained from former Pontiffs, and ordered the restitution of all their real property that had been illicitly destroyed or alienated [34]; and then by another, of the 1st of August of the same year, which sanctioned a resolution of the Grand Chapter of the Order, requiring that all their houses and dependencies should contribute towards the defence of Rhodes, which was liable to be attacked by the perfidious Turks, even in time of treague or peace [35].

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31. Memorie Storiche, p. 107.
32. Historiae Venetae, Lib. V, p. 185.
33. Card. Bembo, ibid., p. 184.
34. See Document 194.
35. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. II, III, t. XVI, Regest. 787, f° 159.

About this same time the Pontiff added new vigor and power to another military-religious institution, to the Knights of St. George, Martyr, who had been established by pope Paul II at the request of the late emperor Frederic, as protectors from the Turks, in the borderlands of Styria, Carniola and Croatia. These brave religious had not, however, the number nor the means to repel the incursions of the enemy, and they notified Maximilian, Frederic's son and successor, towards the end of the year 1493, that, unless assisted by the Roman Pontiff and the Christian princes, they would soon lose the few castles which they were still holding, and they themselves would be put to death or dragged into slavery. The emperor proposed, therefore, to erect a church and a number of buildings, sufficient to house two or three thousand soldiers, who, together, would resist the bands of invaders ; and, in time, he communicated his designs to the Pontiff [36].

Pope Alexander VI was easily persuaded. On the 13th of April, 1494, he solemnly instituted what was to be the principal source of power for the discouraged Knights, a Confraternity under the invocation of St. George, Martyr. In the lengthy bull of its erection [37], the Pope makes an appeal to all Christians of either sex, to laymen and clerics, secular and regular, even of mendicant and of female Orders, to give their names to be inscribed in the confraternity's registers, and to be read every day the from the pulpit. He describes the pressing need and the principal end of their co-operation with the Knights of St. George, he sets forth the advantages to be obtained ; the participation in all the good works of the military community, the daily prayers offered for them, whether alive or dead and the yearly divine offices celebrated for the souls of the deceased. In particular, should any new

36. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1493.

37. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, II, t. XI, Regest. 782, f° 162 ; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Oest. 13 April 1494.

members join the combatants and become disabled or maimed, they shall be well cared for as long as they live.

The Pope himself and the cardinals had already been enrolled in the confraternity, and to further entice the faithful to follow their example, the Pontiff grants them special indulgences in proportion to the importance of their help. To those praying every day to implore God's assistance against the Turks, for every such prayer and as often as their names are read from the pulpit, an indulgence of one hundred days ; and as often as they shall make an offering, one of thirty years. All who shall, at their own expense, serve at a camp, for one year, shall gain a plenary indulgence and pardon of all the sins which they shall have duly confessed. The members of the confraternity are also granted special privileges for times and places under ecclesiastical interdict ; their vows can be commuted ; their indebtedness to any church can be paid off to the Knights of St. George ; and during the year in which they shall donate a quarter of a gold florin, they will be granted the dispensation of eating cheese and other milk products prohibited during Lent, and eggs on Fridays outside of Lent, in places where olives do not grow. All, moreover, who shall fight the Turks for eight continuous months, shall have the benefit of a moratorium and licitly postpone the payment of their debts during that space of time.

No regular fee was prescribed, but each new member was expected to make a voluntary offering [38].

While thus founding this vast association, that, by their donations, their prayers and their arms, would in the future afford great help towards the repulsion of the inhuman Mohammedans from the Austrian provinces, pope Alexan-

38. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1493.

der VI presented to the military institution of St. George two considerable possessions, for the recruiting and training of the many new soldiers and knights required for this purpose.

The Benedictine abbey of St. James, outside the walls of Constance, named " the Scots ", and formerly held by monks from Scotland, was now abandoned, in need, of repairs and almost without revenues. On the 13th of April, 1494, the Pontiff suppressed the abbey and granted its buildings and possessions to the Knights of St. George [39]. Also on the same day, he gave them the abbey of Vixtring, " Victoriam ", in Carinthia, of the Cistercian Order, which had been devastated several times by the invading Turks, and was in danger of being occupied by them and used as a fortress, while it would be most useful to the Knights of St. George in their constant warfare against the Infidels [40].

To procure still further help, both spiritual and material, towards repelling the fiendish incursions of the Turks, the Pontiff addressed, two days later, on the 15th of April, to all the bishops of Germany a circular, by which, after commending the new confraternity of St. George, he directed them to give orders, that, within forty days following the reception of his brief, solemn processions with public prayers should be made, on four consecutive Sundays, in their cathedrals and in every other church of their dioceses, by all the faithful over seven years of age, in order to implore the mercy of God and his assistance against the perfidious enemy. The bishops and clergy should also urge the people to deposit on those occasions a pecuniary contribution into a box placed in the

39. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, II, t. XI, Regest. 782, f° 283vo ; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Oester. 1494, 13 April.

40. The title of abbey was abrogated, but, as the income was still of a hundred marks of silver, six of the Cistercian monks, one of whom was to act as prior, should continue there to live in community—Archiv. Secret. Vatic, Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, II, t. XI, Regest. 782, f° 282 ; Vienna, K. u. K. Haus—Ibid. : An original parchment bull with lead seal.

churches. The sums thus collected were to be integrally handed over to the captains of St. George's military institution and spent exclusively in armed protection of holy religion [41].

All these last measures were taken for the defence of the Southeastern parts of Germany ; but pope Alexander VI was constantly at work also in preparing a general offensive against the Ottoman empire, and early commenced gathering money to defray his personal share towards it. On the 1st of August, 1494, he issued a constitution, requiring that the third part of the inheritance of all ecclesiastics allowed to make a last will, should be paid into the papal treasury, for a holy crusade and other pressing needs [42].

When the king of France, Charles VIII, had, in the year 1493, signed, with emperor Frederic, the treaty of Senlis, pope Alexander VI wrote to both monarchs [43], urging them to further combine in an expedition against Constantinople ; and he was in hopes of success, until he received the information that the French king had evaded the preparatory conference with the emperor. Great was his disappointment when he learned that the real design of Charles VIII was the conquest of Naples, the unavoidable consequence of which would be to divide the Christian powers and those of Italy in particular. He spent a whole year in diplomatic negotiations to prevent this unfortunate undertaking, and wrote a most eloquent letter, begging the Most Christian King not to give to the cruel Turks an opportunity to destroy Christian countries. But the young ambitious prince did not listen to the pleadings of the Pontiff. He even allowed his soldiery to do, in the greater part of Italy and in Rome itself, the baneful work of the Mohammedans. He shamefully treated

41. See Document 195.

42. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secretaria, an. I, II, III. Lib. III, Regest. 869, f° 291.

43. Cfr. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 343.

the very person of the Pope. And yet, as he still boasted of his simulated project to attack sultan Bajazeth, pope Alexander VI, forgetting his recent sufferings and humiliations, offered to him free passage through his States, immunity from the Neapolitan king and the assistance of his own person [44].

ARTICLE V. — EVENTS OF THE YEARS 1493 TO 1496.

The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII was the disruption of peace among the Christian princes, and the ruin of all hopes for a general expedition against the Turks. Pope Alexander VI had, for months, been eagerly at work, to procure a closer union and alliance of the covert enemies of the French king ; for self-protection, indeed, but also, if not mainly, to revive the possibility of a great war for the defence of religion and civilization. To this effect he had, in particular, sent to Germany, on the 26th of October, 1495, as his Legate " a latere ", the great bishop of Concordia, Leonello de Chieregatis [45]. He, finally, succeeded in making with Maximilian, king of the Romans; Ferdinand and Isabella, kings of Spain, and the dukes of Venice and Milan, a treaty, which, from his intervention, was called the Holy League, and which was solemnly published in Rome and in Venice, on Palm Sunday, the 12th of April, 1495.

About this time, the following letter was received from the bishop of Vesprim by the counselor of emperor elect, Maximilian : " A few days ago, we were called by His Hungarian Majesty... Let us come to the matters that are taking place here. The Turkish sultan, frightened perhaps by the power

44. Munich, K. Staatsbibl. Cod. Lat. 24598, f° 2.

45. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad X. Lib. VII, Reg. 873, f° 350.

of the king of France, as is likely the case, has sent here to His Hungarian Majesty an ambassador, who, practically in the name of his master, has submitted all the conditions of peace to the arbitration of our King. This was certainly an evidence of great fear, for the Turk is not used to such humility, when asking peace. However that may be, his affairs were attended. Our Serene King, seeing that he was almost treated with contempt by the king of France, who wrote nothing and did not inform His Majesty of his designs, has made peace with the Turk for three years ; and the serene king of the Romans is included in the treaty, if he be willing to enter therein, as it will be more clearly announced to His Majesty by our King. From Vesprim, the 10th of April in the year of Our Lord 1495. John, bishop of Vesprim "[46].

May we not venture to suppose that the fear of Bajazeth was caused more by the negotiations preparatory to the Holy League, of which he was secretly informed, than by the uncontested march of the French king through Italy ? And did not king Ladislas have better reasons for his important action than a harmless slight from Charles VIII ? Let this be as it may ; but it should be remarked that the letter explains why Bajazeth allowed to the Christians the relative peace which they enjoyed the next few years.

The Dalmatian city of Ragusa, situated close to the possessions of the Turks, was, however, in constant danger of being assailed by their murderous robber bands. Its magistrates had recourse to pope Alexander VI for help in putting their place in a state of defence ; and the Pontiff readily heard their petition. On the 26th of January, 1496, he granted a plenary indulgence to all Christians, who would, after a worthy confession, visit the local church of the Blessed Virgin, on Pentecost Monday, and there extend a helping hand, or

46. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch, Maximiliana, 1495. Apr. 10 : An original paper.

would send their contribution, or refund one made for them, towards the safety of Ragusa [47].

The same year, on the 1st of July, he bestowed a similar favor on the kingdom of Sweden. About the end of the previous year sixty thousand schismatic Russians had invaded and ravaged the greater part of the diocese of Abo, burning and murdering thousands of Catholic people and dragging many into perpetual slavery. At the request of the viceroy and governor, Steno Sture, and of the archbishop and bishops of Sweden, Livonia and of the neighboring provinces, the Pontiff granted to the bishops the apostolic power to concede a plenary indulgence, once in life and at the hour of death, to all who would take up arms against the barbarian schismatics, pay for an enlisting soldier or by labor or donation assist their fighting men [48].

ARTICLE VI. — CATHOLIC PRINCES REFUSE HELP OR EVEN ALLY WITH THE TURKS.

At the commencement of November, 1496, there was held in Vigevano a conference by the duke of Milan and the ambassadors of the other members of the Holy League, at which it was proposed that, in case Charles VIII should accept the peace offered to him, the emperor elect should come and be crowned in Rome, and that here a general plan should be devised for an expedition against the Ottoman empire. The reporter, an envoy of king Maximilian, remarks that Ludovico the Moro had little to say about the project, while Maximilian was in favor of the common proposal [49].

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47. Farlato, Illyria Sacra, t. VI, p. 195.
48. Theiner, Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae, t. II, p. 262.
49. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Maximiliana, 1496. Nov. 6.

But, what could be expected from the penniless monarch ? Already in the year 1495, he had requested the diet of Worms, to supply him with the means of making war on king Charles VIII and on sultan Bajazeth ; and the grand German council had conceded to him the ridiculous sum of two hundred and fifty thousand florins, of which he actually received hardly anything [50]. When the diet of Worms convened in April, 1497, little had been paid of the allotted sum; but now the estates [51] were to do something worthy of the Empire. They resolved to hand over to the King four thousand florins, cash money, from the " common-penny " tax, on deduction from the sum allowed in 1495, and, besides, generously permitted Maximilian to levy and collect the common penny that would become due in his own patrimonial territories, in those of his son Philip and in the duchy of Julich, Cleve and Berg [52] ! The niggardliness of the German princes was more shameful yet at the diet of Augsburg in 1501. The trifling concession of 1495 was still unpaid. The assembly resolved to start a crusade against Constantinople ; but, in discussing the means required for this, they bitterly complained that the German coffers had been emptied and the States impoverished by the papal exactions of " annata " and of alms for indulgences [53], and they claimed that the Pope should furnish the empire and the emperor with a yearly allowance, sufficient to wage and finish their war against the Infidels [54] ! Under the control of such princes and such diets, Maximilian could do nothing against the enemy, who was ravaging his provin-

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50. Janssen, Gesch. des Deut. Volkes, 9te Aufl. Bd. I, s. 525.

51. The Clergy, the Nobility and the Cities.

52. Janssen, Gesch. des Deut. Volkes, ibid., s. 531.

53. Maximilian and his princes quarreled for the possession of the moneys collected at the Jubilee of 1500, which the Pope had freely granted for a German expedition against the Turks.

54. K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv, Cod. M. M. fo 14vo and ibid. f° 43.

ces and threatening his throne, nor did he ever accomplish anything against them at the time of pope Alexander VI.

Great was the guilt of the German magnates, whose sordid stinginess led them to tolerate the destruction of their lands and the slaughter or slavery of their people ; but more criminal yet appear to be those who, through selfishness and ambition, sought the alliance of the fierce enemies of all Christianity.

Philip de Commines, French ambassador in Venice, was endeavoring to sustain the former friendly relations between the Venetian republic and his master, Charles VIII. When he learned that the Holy League had been concluded, as a safeguard against the French, he resolved to promote an understanding between his King and the sultan of Constantinople. He himself relates that during the night following the solemn publication of the league, on Palm Sunday in the year 1495, he received in his room the Turkish ambassador, and that their conversation, through the medium of a Greek, lasted no less than four hours, and the wish was expressed that their masters should be friends [55]. A month later, on the 13th of May, king Charles VIII himself received in Naples an envoy of the Sultan ! The King had come to Italy as a pretended enemy of the Turks, and was now to return to France under their protection [56] !

If we may believe Malipiero, the duke of Milan, Ludovico the Moro, dispatched, towards the end of the year 1496, ambassadors to request the assistance of the Turks against the Venetians, and the Sultan reciprocated by sending envoys to Ludovico, who is said to have directed them to Maximilian, king of the Romans [57].

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55. Commines, Memoires, t. II. Liv. VII, Ch. XV, p. 81.

56. M. de la Pilorgerie, Bulletin de l'Armée d'Italie, p. 281 ; Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres de Ph. de Commines, t. II, p. 180.

57. Domen. Malipiero, Annal. Venet., ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., t. VII, ser. I, p. 153.

Malipiero also asserts that, on the 14th of October, 1497, it was learned from Constantinople that certain Italian princes, in particular those of Florence and of Ferrara, were plotting with the Turk against the Venetian seigniory, and were making him every offer [58].

Again in 1497, the same author says [59], the Florentines presented to the Grand Turk the sum of fifty thousand ducats, praying him to send troops against Venice, in order to divert from Pisa the attempts they were making to win over that city from Florence. But their felony was in vain, he adds, because Bajazeth was, at the time, engaged with his invasion of the Polish kingdom.

Those grave charges are not incredible, yet must not be accepted without caution, because Malipiero does not generally scruple to accuse other powers to justify his dear Venice. Thus can he scarcely be believed, when he accuses Maximilian of inciting the Turks to assail the Venetian republic [60]. He even allows himself to accuse the very Supreme Pontiff of sending an ambassador with orders to stimulate the Turks to war against the Venetians by land and by sea [61]. The particulars that accompany the terms of the charge sufficiently indicate its falsity, and the constantly uniform words and deeds of pope Alexander VI regarding the Turks, sufficiently prove the assertion to be a mere slander.

On the 4th of June, 1498, the Pontiff dispatched a solemn embassy, to congratulate Louis XII on his accession to the throne of France [62]. The first instruction which he gave his envoys, was to encourage the new King to make war on the Turks. He himself wrote to him : " From the time of our assumption to the supreme pontificate, it always was our desire, as it is a duty of our pastoral office, to set on foot

58. Id. ibid., p. 158.
59. Ibid., p. 159.
60. Ibid., p. 160.
61. Id. ibid., p. 161.
62. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 474.

an expedition against the Turks, the perpetual enemies of our faith ; to follow, with the help of God, the example of our uncle, Calixtus III, and of Pius II, and, moreover, to offer our person for the same expedition. Circumstances have so far prevented the realization of our wish ; but your elevation is for us and for all Christianity like a star indicating that now, with your help, we can happly commence the undertaking ". He promises him the co-operation of all Italy, now quiet and peaceful, and holds out to him the glory of his immortal ancestors, who had been the protectors of the Roman Pontiffs and had saved for the Church so many territories from the hands of her perfidious enemies [63].

He ordered his ambassadors, in the second place, to solicit Louis XII not to assail the duke of Milan and the king of Naples [64], so that the Italian powers and princes might remain united and strong to encounter and defeat the fierce Mohammedans [65].

Pope Alexander VI was sorely disappointed when, in the beginning of the year 1499, he learned that the French king, neglecting his request, was on the point of entering upon the Milanese territory ; but, no sooner had he been convinced of the treachery of Ludovico the Moro, who was corresponding with sultan Bajazeth and begging him to attack the Venetian allies of the French, than he indignantly cast off his former protégé and accorded his friendship to king Louis, whose conquest of Milan he considered as a defence of holy religion.

In a like manner did he, on the 15th of June, 1501, deprive of his feudal kingdom, Frederic of Naples, whose interests he had protected for many years, after he found him to be, long since, in friendly intercourse with the emperor of the

63. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Instructiones Diversae, Cod. XXX, f° 134 ; also Politicorum Varia, VII, f° 610, and Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon., Cod. 2726 ; copied ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 673.

64. Whose titles he had threateningly assumed.

65. Ibidem.

Turks, and to have called into Italy this fiend of the Christians, to save his State from the threatened attack of the French monarch.

Ever since his treaty with Ladislas, king of Hungary, Bajazeth had been preparing for more ferocious wars. Towards the end of the year 1497, his troops, re-enforced by Tartars or schismatic Russians, made an irruption into the kingdom of Poland and, with fire and sword, laid waste a large portion of its Southern provinces. They would have devastated the entire country, had not the severe cold of winter compelled them to retrace their steps. They went back to warmer districts of the Turkish territory, laden with spoils and abducting numberless people [66]. They renewed their invasion the following summer ; but, encouraged by the Pope, John Albert, king of Poland, and his brother, Alexander, Grand Duke of Lithuania, were, this time, prepared to meet them. In the consistory of the 22d of October, cardinal Lopez read, to the great relief of the Pontiff and of the sacred college, a recent letter of a certain John Parsnousky, a canon of Lemberg, stating that the captains of the King and of the Grand Duke had, on the 10th of September, put the enemies to flight, after slaying fourteen thousand Turks [67].

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66. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1498, nis XXXIV-XXXIX ; Pantaleone, De Rhodiorum Rebus gestis, Lib. V, p. 147 ; Wadding, Annal. Minorum, t. XV, p. 154.

67. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 10 : Acta Consist. fo 18vo.

CHAPTER II.

Wars of the Turks against Venice.

ARTICLE I. — VENICE LOSES BY LAND AND BY SEA.

The following year, the duke of Milan, Ludovico the Moro, threatened by king Louis XII, implored the Grand Turk to come to his assistance, by attacking the Venetians, the allies of the French ; and his ambassador in Rome was not ashamed to justify his master [1]. Emperor elect Maximilian sided against the Pope and Christianity, in favor of his Milanese brother-in-law, who had had recourse to him ; and secretly sent ambassadors to solicit the Turks to assail Venetian territory. He granted them free passage through Corinthia, to encourage their cruel hordes in their work of murder and devastation of the northern provinces of the Republic [2]. Bajazeth, who was fully prepared for war, readily granted his request and fell upon the Venetian possessions by land and by sea.

Albania was the first to suffer from his incursions. The inhabitants fled to their mountains, where, for a short time, they defended themselves bravely ; but, their warriors being greatly outnumbered by the Mohammedans, they finally had to surrender. Their grown men were put to a cruel death, and their women and larger children dragged into servitude [3].

Malipiero says that shortly after, on the 27th of June, 1499,

1. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 437.
2. Mansi, Note ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1499, no. XII. Ref. to Sanudo, Hist. Belli Gallici.
3. Leunclavius, Annal. Sultanorum, p. 55 ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 22.

two thousand Turks pillaged and ravaged the district of Zara and led away three thousand souls and a great number of animals, large and small. A few days later, five thousand more Mohammedan brigands completed the ruin of the whole Dalmatian coast [4]. At the end of September, Bajazeth ordered into the Northern provinces of the Venetian republic an army of ten thousand soldiers, who, in the beginning of the following month destroyed the patriarchate of Aquileja, and all of Istria, as far as Trieste and Goritz. By the 5th of October, they went into the Friuli, crossed the Isonzo, the Tagliamento and the Livenza rivers ; robbing, burning and killing. Fearing a surprise attack from the Venetians, they hurried back and, finding the Tagliamento swollen, they butchered on its banks all their captives, too old or too young to ford or swim the river : eighteen hundred and seventeen in number, according to Malipiero [5].

A Turkish fleet of three hundred sails was ready to weigh anchor in the spring of 1499. The Rhodian Knights expected to be assailed before the end of May. Their grand chapter had resolved that, for five years, all their other houses should contribute to the defence of the island, one-third of their yearly income ; and, at the request of the cardinal, their Grand Master, the Pope confirmed the decree, on the 30th of April, 1499 [6].

Their fear proved, however, to be without real cause, for the Venetians learned in the beginning of July that the three hundred war vessels, issued from the Dardanelles, were bound

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4. Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, pp. 167, 169; Ranke, Geschichten, p 144.

5. Sagredo, Memorie Storiche, p. 112 ; Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, pp. 181-186; Burchard, Diar, t. II, p. 578 ; who says that the Turks laid was to the patriarchate of Aquilea, and burned down two adjacent villages of the German empire ; Sardi, Historie Ferraresi, Lib. X, p. 323 ; Brentori, Storia di Bassano, p. 317.

6. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXVI, 10 : Acta Consist. f° 54; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. IX, t. LXXVI, Regest. 847, f° 122.

for the island of Corfu, a Venetian possession. At this distressing news, the Republic hastened to borrow money, to collect new taxes [7], and to apply for help to pope Alexander VI.

The Pontiff, considering the imminent danger of Venice and of all Italy, willingly granted their request, and sent to them, as his legate, his nephew, cardinal Giovanni de Borgia, to promise them all possible assistance [8]. Already on the 22d of July, he conceded to the Seigniory four extra tithes of all ecclesiastical revenues, besides the two usually received [9]. This statement of Malipiero may be completed and corrected by Albèri [10], and by the following notice taken from the Bullarium of Monte Cassino, namely, that on August, 1st, 1499, Alexander VI imposed, as a subsidy towards the war against the Turks, two tithes upon twelve nonmendicant religious congregations, as well as on the other clergy of the Venetian State [11]. Thus he procured to the Venetians the means to gather and equip their war vessels ; while, with remarkable generosity, he had already exhausted his own treasury in building twenty galleys, with which to re-enforce the Christian fleet [12].

To meet the Turkish armada, Venice put to sea ninety vessels. Antonio Grimani, their commander, was greatly assisted by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and by Andrew Loredano, governor of Corfu, who joined him with fifteen more men-of-war. A fierce battle was fought on the 12th of August, 1499, off the island of Sapienza ; but, after

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7. Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, p. 169.

8. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. III, Cap. 38, f° 165.

9. Malipiero, ubi supra, p. 171 : " El Papa ha concesso alla Signoria quatuor decime del clero per questa spedizione contra 'l Turco, e son oltra le due ordinarie—22 luglio 1499.

10. Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. III, p. 13.

11. Bullar. Cassinen., t. II, p. 420 ; Cfr. Ranke, Geschichten. s. 138.

12. Sagredo, Memorie, p. 114.

two of Grimani's ships were consumed by fire, although the progress of the engagement was promising for the Christians, he suddenly gave orders to withdraw, leaving the advantage to the Mohammedans. The Christian fleet was soon augmented by twenty-two galleys, sent by Louis XII at the request of pope Alexander VI, and a second encounter with the enemy was, on the 25th, auspiciously commenced, when Grimani, pretending the wind to be unfavorable, ordered the battle to be stopped again. The French, disgusted with his cowardice, sailed for home. Grimani was recalled by the Seigniory and subsequently relegated to the island of Cherso, in spite of the intercession of his son, cardinal Grimani [13]. This latter combat is sometimes represented as a great victory for the Venetians and the French [14], but its consequences were deplorable.

While sending forth his fleet, sultan Bajazeth, at the head of a numerous army, extended his conquests in Macedonia and captured or besieged several Venetian strongholds and possessions, such as Nauplia and Lepanto [15]. Lepanto beleaguered since the 6th of August on the side of the land, was holding out, relying on assistance from the Venetian fleet; but, when Grimani and his vessels withdraw, the Turks steered their prows towards the distressed city ; and its inhabitants, seeing the Mohammedan crescent approach instead of the Venetian lion, lost all hope ; and, on the 29th of August, 1499 [16], they made a conditional surrender, and had the ex-

13. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 570 ; Sagredo, Memorie, pp. 108, 109 ; Pantaleone, De Rhodiorum Rebus gestis, Lib. V, p. 147 ; Ranke, Geschichten, s. 144 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 402.

14. Gilles, Annales et Croniques de France, t. II, f° 119vo ; P. Delphini, Epist. Lib. VII, f° yii: Ex Fonte bono, die 14 Sept. 1499; Jules Favé, Etudes Critiques sur l'Histoire d'Alexandre VI, p. 83.

15. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I. Lib. I, Regest. 867, f° 90vo ; Sagredo, Memorie, p. 108 ; Ortelius, Chronologia, p. 10 ; Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, p. 172.

16. Malipiero, Annal. Venet., ubi supra, p. 173.—Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 436, assigns the 26th.

ceptional good fortune thus to save their lives and their goods [17].

On the 24th of September, Grimani was replaced by Melchior Trevisano, who received the insignia of Captain General during the solemnities of H. Mass, in the presence of the papal legate, Giovanni de Borgia [18]. He went to sea on the 27th, and tried to regain the island of Cephalonia and to relieve the besieged city of Modone ; but, from lack of success, he died of a broken heart, early the following year. Benedict da Pesaro was named in his stead [19].

Pope Alexander VI was greatly alarmed at the loss of Lepanto. To encourage the enlistment into the Venetian army or navy, he forthwith issued of his own will, " motu proprio ", a bull, published on the occasion of Captain Trivisano, taking command of the naval operations; by which he granted, on the usual conditions, a plenary indulgence to all who would march against the Turks ; and, to those, who would visit seven churches in the Republic and pray for the souls of the fallen soldiers, the same indulgences as they would gain by visiting the seven basilicas of Rome [20].

ARTICLE II. — FUTILE CONGRESS IN ROME.

Shortly after, in October [21], the Pontiff wrote a brief to all Christian kings and princes; in particular to Alexander, grand duke of Lithuania, whereby he reminded them of the interest he had, from the beginning of his reign, taken in combatting the cruel Turks. He regretted that his admonitions and en-

17. Malipiero, ibid. ; Biagio Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 26.
18. Malipiero, ubi supra, p. 181.
19. Sagredo, Memorie, p. 113; Ranke, Geschichten, s. 145 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 403.
20. Malipiero, Annal. Veneti, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, p. 181.
21. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 24 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 437.

treaties had not been heard before this time. But, now that, during the last summer, so many Christian provinces had been devastated and Lepanto had been lost, the axe was laid to the root, there was no time for slow deliberations any more, action was imperative. He, therefore, requested the princes of Christianity to send to Rome their ambassadors, provided with full powers and authority, so that on the 1st of next March, they might decide on the ways and means of a general expedition against the Mohammedan empire. He promised to co-operate himself to the undertaking, in every manner, temporal and spiritual, even, if necessary, with his own person [22].

Receiving no answer to those letters, the Pope senth forth, at the commencement of February, 1500, new notifications of the intended congress [23].

In fact, on the 11th of March, 1500, a consistory took place, to which were called all the ambassadors present in Rome, namely, the bishop of Seckow and Philibert, envoys of king Maximilian ; the bishop of Tréguier, ambassador of France ; the bishop of Worcester, envoy of the king of England, two envoys of the king of Naples ; Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, ambassador of the kings of Spain, and the envoys of Venice, of the duke of Savoy and of Florence. The Pontiff described to them the danger of Christian Europe from the barbarian Turks, and the pressing need of a general expedition against them. He praised Venice as the bulwark of Christianity and as deserving to be defended by all other Catholic States. He

22. Theiner, Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae, t. II, p. 266.

23. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 24 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 437, n. 5.—Burchard reports, Diar., t. III, p. 16, that, on the 24th of February, an ambassador of the Grand Turk rode up to the apostolic palace, to have an audience of His Holiness. The enemies of pope Alexander VI can not make use of this fact, to say that he was a friend of the Infidels, because Burchard adds that the ambassador was accompanied by the envoy of Venice.

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was confident that three powers : Spain, France and the Seigniory, would attack the enemy by water, and the kings of Poland and Hungary would assail him by land ; while he himself would grant them all their requests, tithes and other favors. He added that he and other minor powers should justly help to cover the expenses of the war. After the Pope's oration, the envoy of Maximilian held forth the prior necessity of making peace in Italy. The French ambassador concluded a pompous discourse, by stating that his King had sent him no faculty of any kind ; but he doubted not that he would do all that circumstances might require. Lorenzo Suarez simply declared the determination of his masters, the king and queen of Spain, of which His Holiness was aware, he said, and the execution of which was already commenced. He stated that he was fully authorized to do all that was necessary on his part. The Neapolitan ambassadors burst forth in complaints against the king of France, who had assumed also the title of king of Naples and caused their master to think only of his own needs and dangers. The Venetian ambassador promised, in the name of his principals, to do great things generally, and all that was possible and impossible. The other envoys spoke in general terms, without compromising themselves. At last, the Pope expressed his displeasure at the kings of the Romans and of France, because they took so little interest in the proposed expedition ; and he angrily accused Frederic of Naples for receiving a Mohammedan ambassador and doing him honor, and for boasting of his friendship with the Grand Turk [24].

24. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Hernando, Lib. III. Cap. 46, f° 175 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 24 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 437.—Burchard closes this entry by saying : " I hear that the Pope has made the foregoing proposal at the instance, and for the private interest of the Venetians ". He heard this calumny, no doubt, from Philibert, Maximilian's envoy, and his German patriotism blindfolds him so that he can not see that what, on this occasion, was for the profit of Venice, was for the safety of Christian Europe.

Thus had pope Alexander VI made his last efforts in vain. Instead of war against the Turks, strife broke out anew among Christian princes, in the duchy of Milan.

ARTICLE III. — FURTHER EFFORTS OF ALEXANDER VI.

The Pontiff was soon consoled, however, by the news of a brilliant victory achieved by the kings of Hungary and of Poland, who had, during that same month of March, expelled from their countries forty thousand Turks, the greater number of whom had perished in the waters of the Danube [25]. Nor was he slow in encouraging the victorious Kings to prosecute their successes, by indirectly though effectually increasing their armies and their treasure. On the 22[d] of May, 1500, he issued a brief granting a plenary indulgence to all their subjects, who would join their troops for the space of a year, or who either alone or in combination with two,three or even ten others, would pay the enlistment of a soldier ; or who would, for at least six months, make themselves useful at their camps ; and he allowed the benefits of the hundreth-year jubilee to all who would contribute, towards paying the expenses of the war, one-fourth of the outlay they would probably incur by making a journey to gain them in Rome. He also dispensed from the censure of irregularity all clerics, even priests, willing to take up arms in defence of holy religion. Full of faith and of confidence in God, he finished his brief by giving orders to all Hungarian bishops, prelates and spiritual superiors to sing a high Mass of the Holy Ghost, to hold, together with their parishioners, a solemn procession with prayers around their churches, and to exhort the faithful daily

25. Malipiero, Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, p. 162.

to pray, that God, in his mercy, might deign to assist his people in their danger and save them from the mouth of the dragon anxious to devour them. All offerings and contributions made on this occasion were to be applied exclusively to undertakings against the dreaded Turks [26].

On the 22d of May the Pontiff also imposed a year's tithe of all ecclesiastical revenues in Hungary and Poland, in favor of the war to be waged by the Hungarian and Polish kings, in union with the other Christian Powers, against the Ottoman empire [27].

Pope Alexander VI was aware that the French monarch, Louis XII, although prevented by other important affairs, was not unwilling to partake in war on the Turks, the perpetrators of the most heinous offenses. To incite him to prompt action, he held out to him financial assistance derived from the possessions of the Church in France. Still on the same 22d of May, 1500, he ordered to be paid, for the exclusive benefit of the next expedition against the Infidels, the full tenth part of one year's income from all ecclesiastical properties in France proper, and in the provinces of Dauphiné, Provence, Brittany and Burgundy and in the duchy of Milan [28]. This command was opposed at first by the Gallican University of Paris and by the Chapter of Notre Dame, but afterwards the papal legate, John Vera, cardinal of Salerno, was authorized by cardinal d'Amboise to publish the tithe, and instituted its collectors, after king Louis XII had given his letters patent of approval [29].

Already on the 4th of February, 1500, had been affixed to the door of the Roman chancery a paper, by which the Pope ordered the donation of the tenth part of their yearly income

26. See Document 196.
27. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. IV ad VIII. Lib. VI, Regest. 872, f° 133.
28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. IV ad VIII. Lib. VI, Regest. 872, f° 137vo.
29. Becchetti, Ultimi Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 300. Ref. to Berthier, Hist. Gallicane, Lib. 50.

to the cardinals, prelates and all clergymen, and of the twentieth, to the Jews of the whole Catholic world, in favor of the next expedition against the Turks. So it is stated by Burchard and Francis Cappellus [30] ; and, in the papal brief of the 22d of May, laying a tithe on the clergy of Hungary and Poland, it is said that the cardinals are exempted, because they are already burdened with such a duty. The famous injunction was, however, extended to three years, and the document published all over Christendom on the 1st day of June, of which its copy bears the date in Burchard's diary and in the official Vatican records.

The Pontiff commences by stating that he has always tried to promote the interests of the clergy ; but, he says, the dire persecution of the Turks now compels him reluctantly to place a burden upon them. He is confident, however, to find them not only willing, but prompt and inclined to lend a helping hand towards the defence of their religion. He then recalls the late warlike preparations of the perfidious enemies, their last year's devastation of many Christian provinces and their conquest of Lepanto. Then he draws a frightful picture of their barbarism and of their acts of savage cruelty. Further, he warns against their restless ambition to acquire all the seaports and coasts of the Christians, thus to open their way to the conquest of Rome and of the whole world. He admits that, if the Catholic princes continue in their selfish dissensions, and no opposition is made to the Infidels, these will again cause irreparable damage, as they have done of late in the provinces of Germany, Poland and Hungary. He reminds the clergy of the profanation and destruction of so many cathedrals and distinguished churches, of monasteries and convents now in the hands of the Turks, of chalices,

30. Diarium Burchardi, t. III, p. 46 and n. 1 ; Cfr. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Julii II. Div. Cam. An. 1502 and 1508 : Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 19.

crosses and other objects of divine service now broken and destroyed, of the relics of the saints trodden under foot, and of innumerable persons of either sex forced, in bitter slavery, to embrace the damned sect of Mohammed. He himself has resolved to spend for the defence of the faith not only his own, but also the resources of the apostolic see confided to his administration, and he has repeatedly written to Christian princes that he is ready to accompany them on this holy and necessary expedition, together with the Sacred College of cardinals, who have thereto offered themselves.

Unable to supply the means required by an undertaking of such magnitude, he has, he continues, deliberated with the cardinals and obtained their approval, to prescribe a full tithe of all ecclesiastical incomes of the Sacred College, of the emoluments of the officers of the Roman court [31] and of all other church revenues of all kinds and without exception, all over the Catholic world.

The tithe is to be paid within the time set by the papal legates or collectors, for a period of three years, and to be expended for works against the Turks and for nothing else. The payment of the tithe is to be made under pain of excommunication and of the loss of all offices, dignities and benefices, of all who might oppose, neglect or defraud it ; and the absolution of this censure is reserved to the Roman Pontiff. He added that provisions would be made to show that all moneys proceeding from these tithes would be spent for the expedition and for no other purpose. He, finally, ordered the present brief to be read and explained at all churches in the vernacular language. Given in Rome at St. Peter's in the year 1500, the 1st of June [32].

On the 1st of February of the following year, a papal order was published for the collection of the tithes, to which, it was

31. See Document 198. | 32. See Document 197.

declared, were also obliged all officials of the Pontifical States ; and the Jews found to have evaded the payment of the twentieth of their income, were condemned to disburse the tenth [33]. Meanwhile the cardinal of Gran, Thomas Bakocz ; the cardinal of Poland, Frederic Casimir, because they belonged to countries at war with the Turks, and cardinal Peter d'Aubusson, Grand Master of the Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, as being constantly fighting the Mohammedans, had been exempted from paying any tithe [34].

The collections seem to have been satisfactory especially in Rome. The tithes paid each of the three years by the Sacred College amounted, according to Burchard's report [35], to thirty-five thousand, or to thirty-four thousand and nine hundred, as stated by Gottlob [36].

The tithe laid upon the Polish, the Hungarian and the French clergy, on the 22^{d} of May, would satisfy for the first year of the new triennial tax. Germany found ways to dodge all payment. Henry VII, king of England, objected to this novel burden on the English clergy ; but he consented that a subsidy should be freely donated for the defence of holy religion. The Pontiff agreed to this form of contribution, and ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to convene a council of his province to that effect. The gathering took place the 14th of February, 1501, in St. Paul's church of London, where it was decided to send to Rome, for war against the Turks, the generous sum of twelve thousand pound, English money, levied on the incomes of church dignities and benefices. In Document 199 we give the special contributions of the archdiocese of Canterbury and of each of its suffragan dioceses.

33. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 113.

34. Document 198 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1500, no. IX.

35. Document 198 ; Cfr. Arch. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Julii II. Div. Cam. 1502-1508, Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 113vo.

36. Aus der Camera Apostolica, s. 66.—What was the object of Daru, Hist. de la Républ. de Venise, t. III, p. 53, in exaggerating the sum to 343000 ducats ?

The council of the province of York was called in the city of that name, on the 21st of the same month, and also paid the tithe, under the name of a subsidy, towards the defence of holy religion [37].

This tithe of the clergy and the proceeds of a Cruciata and of the jubilee, contributed in England for the defence of holy religion, never found their way to Rome, but eventually went to enrich the treasury of king Henry VII. On the 4th of July, 1502, the Pontiff told the Venetian ambassador, that the king of England had required one half of the amounts, for granting permission to collect in his kingdom ; and he added : " After some sixty to seventy thousand ducats had been gathered, objections were made to the payment of our portion, because some pretended that we had made no armaments nor any other preparations against the Sultan; which was a flagrant untruth, for we did all we could do. We were forced to make another agreement with the King, namely, that we would receive fifteen thousand ducats and all the surplus should go to his account. Until this day, we have not got a penny " [38].

While sacrificing the interests of the entire clergy, to conduct a vigorous war, pope Alexander VI ceased not, through his legates and letters, to urge the Christian princes to commence a general aggression on the common enemy. He applied, in particular, to the emperor elect, whose subjects had recently again been suffering so bitterly in the province of Carniola [39]. Maximilian was celebrating, in the spring of 1500, another diet at Augsburg and resigned in favor of the princes and of the other estates of the realm his most precious rights and privileges, in the hope of obtaining in return the

37. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Brittanniae et Hibernae, vol. III, pp. 646, 647.

38. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 49.

39. Janssen, Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes, vol. I, s. 533.

means to answer the Pontiff's cry of distress and to rescue their endangered compatriots. The concessions of the German lords were as follows : Soldiers were to be enlisted all over the empire, at the rate of one man from every four hundred inhabitants, and these recruits should, within five or six months, procure to the King an army of thirty thousand infantry; and the horsemen needed for them, should be supplied by the princes, dukes and lords. A war fund was to be created by the clergy paying two and a half per cent of their income; by the servants, contributing the sixtieth part of their wages, and by the Jews, each giving a guilder. When Maximilian left Augsburg, one of his counsellors remarked to him : Your Majesty will again have to endure bitter experiences ; to expect from the German princes acts for the people's common good, is to look for grapes from thistles ! Nine months later, there was not so much on the conscription lists at the general government [40]. The penurious diet produced nothing whatever.

It is no wonder if the great scholar Wimpheling sharply admonished the depraved nobility, to defend religion and civilization against the brutal Turks [41].

The doge of Venice, Augustin Barbadico, made, on the 5th of September, 1500, a just and eloquent appeal for help from Maximilian [42], who answered on the 19th with protestations of good will and general promises [43] ; but the doge had practically no better success than the Pope had obtained.

King Louis XII, engaged at the time with the final conquest of the duchy of Milan and making plans for the acquisition of the kingdom of Naples, cared little for the defence of Christianity. The Spanish fleet, under the command of Consalvo Fernandez, lay watching the island of Sicily, but

40. Janssen, ubi supra, pp. 535, 536.
41. See Document 200.
42. Munich, K. Staatsbibl., Cod. Lat. 434, f° 95.
43. Ibid., f° 97.

did not move to the assistance of the Venetian admiral, Melchior Trevisano, who, although enforced by a number of Rhodian vessels, was compelled to desist from his attack on the island of Cephalonia.

The indifference of the Christian monarchs to the threatening danger caused the Pontiff the deepest anxiety. On the 10th of July, although sick in bed, he held in his room a consistory, at which, the Florentine ambassador reports, the efforts to be made against the cruel enemy were discussed at great length, and it was resolved to meet again the following week, in order to come to a definite conclusion, since the matter was of such a nature as not to admit any delay [44]. Prayer to the Blessed Virgin, the Help of Christians, was to complete and perfect the temporal precautions that should be taken. Indeed, pope Alexander VI gave orders that, from Sunday, the 9th of August, 1500, and for all time to come, the church bells should be rung at noon every day, as a sign for the faithful to beg the protection of the Mother of God against the Infidels, by reciting three times the Angelical Salutation [45].

The very day that the Roman bells pealed forth their invitation to prayer the first time, a fierce battle, or rather a horrible massacre was taking place in a Venetian colony on the coast of the Peloponnesus, in the fortified city of Modone. The inhabitants of this place had, for many weeks, withstood sultan Bajazeth, who besieged it by land and by sea, until they were finally overcome, on the 9th of August, 1500. Not a human being of Modone escaped death ; the men were cruelly slain, while the women and children perished in the flames, that consumed nearly every building. The towns of Coronne and of Navarino and the island of Zonchio, striken

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44. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 436.

45. Burchard, ibid., p. 72.— This is in part the origin of the devotion of the " Angelus ".

with horror, surrendered on conditions to the inhuman victor [46].

ARTICLE IV. — SUCCESSES OF THE CHRISTIANS.

The news of these severe losses was received on the 10th of September in Rome [47], where it caused as much consternation and dismay as in Venice. The next day a consistory was held, and on the 12th, the cardinals gathered around the Pope again. It was decided to make every effort, that the Great Captain, Consalvo Fernandez, should at once join with the Venetian vessels in the Adriatic sea the Spanish fleet, that lay guarding against the Turks the Spanish province of Sicily and the Southern coast of the Neapolitan kingdom [48].

The Pontiff's wish was granted. Consalvo sailed, indeed, for the Morea, on the 27th of September, 1500, with a fleet of sixty-five vessels [49]. At the news of his arrival near Corfu, the Turkish squadron, lying before Nauplia, or Napoli de Romania, at the head of the gulf of the same name, raised the siege and precipitately retired behind their forts, in the strait of the Dardanelles. On the 2d of October, the Great Captain had appeared off the island of Corfu, and on the 7th he entered the port of Zante, where he joined his fleet to that of Venice, under the command of Benedict da Pesaro. The two commanders agreed to attack the island of Cephalonia, and, on the 8th of November, they laid siege to its

46. Burchard, ibid., p. 75 ; Brandolinus Lippus, ap. Römische Quartalschrift, II, s. 188 ; Leunclavius, Annal. Sultanorum Othmanidarum, p. 57 ; Sagredo, Memorie Storiche, p. 111 ; Pantaleone, De Rhodiorum Gestis ; Sardi, Historie Ferraresi, Lib. X, p. 323 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 403.

47. Burchard, ubi supra.

48. Çurita, Hist. del Rey don Hernando, Lib. IV. Cap. I, f° 177.

49. Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 407 ; Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. III, p. 16 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 445.

capital, the city of St. Jorge, which they captured at last on the 24th of December, after bloody fights, in which a hundred and fifty Turks were slain and five hundred made prisoners [50].

This victory was all the more important for the Christians, as it was the first, since the Turks had commenced to infest the seas. The Venetian captain was so much encouraged by it that, although Consalvo had, on the 17th of January, 1501, left him to return to Sicily, he resolved to go, with the help of only a few Rhodian ships, in pursuit of the Turks, who continued to withdraw from the Aegean archipelago. He caught up with their slower vessels and searched for their stragglers, all of which he sank or captured. In this engagement he took eleven galleys and twelve transports of provisions, that tryed to hide and save themselves in the gulf of Saloniki [51]. On his return he raided several Turkish maritime places, took possession of the island Aegina and regained Zonchio [52]. He then, with a few of his vessels, captured the port and shipyard of Prevesa, in the Southwestern part of the Turkish province of Albania, where, in the same year 1501, the city of Alessio surrendered to the Venetians and Durazzo was surprised and seized by the Turks [53].

The short expedition of Consalvo Fernandez and its great consequences are an evident proof of what might have been done to save Europe from the devastations of the Turks, had the Christian princes responded to the admonitions and en-

50. Pantaleone, De Rhodiorum Rebus Gestis, Lib. V, p. 148 or seq.; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV. Cap. 30, fiis 194-199vo; Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. XI, p. 407; Mariana, Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 297; Pastor, ubi supra; Prescott, ubi supra, p. 17.

51. Sagredo, Memorie Storiche, p. 114; Cfr. Daru, Hist. de La Républ. de Venise, t. III, p. 53.

52. Pantaleone, De Rhodiorum Rebus Gestis, Lib. V, p. 148 or seq.; Sagredo, ubi supra.

53. Sagredo, ubi supra; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 445.—Such are the events that took place during the time of 1500 to 1501, but, after, comparing our sources: Sagredo, Pantaleone, Bosio, Prescott, Daru, etc., we must express our doubt, whether we have succeeded in relating them in their strictly chronological order.

treaties of pope Alexander VI ; but Ferdinand of Spain was then the only Catholic king willing to assist Venice in its struggle and to defend religion and civilization. It is easily understood, therefore, that, at the consistory of the 12th of September, 1500, it was resolved to send papal legates to all the Catholic monarchs of Europe, in order to rouse them from their shameful indifference towards the cause of Christianity, to settle their private quarrels and to bring them together for a combined expedition, the next coming spring, against the dreaded enemy of them all [54]. The Pope showed himself prepared to do anything possible for the good of Europe and of Venice, in particular, notwithstanding the opposition of the Republic to his designs on Rimini and Faenza [55].

On the 26th of the same month the Pontiff issued an encyclical, in which he publicly denounced the cruelties committed by the barbarians at Modone, praised the assistance given to the Venetians by France and Spain, and by the Rhodian knights ; and exhorted especially the kings of Poland and of Hungary to attack the Infidels by land, while the other Christian princes should continue the warfare by sea. He again granted indulgences to all who would contribute towards the success of the crusade either by their alms or their deeds, and ordered public prayers to implore divine help in this pressing need [56].

Although compelled to undergo heavy expenses to reduce his rebellious vassals and to liberate his people from their tyranny, pope Alexander VI found the means for doing his own part in the defence of religion. During the last months of the year 1500, he spent a large amount of money in

54. Papal brief, ap. Baluzius, Miscellanea, t. III, p. 423.

55. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 76, n.; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 442.

56. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1500, nis XIII-XVII.

building and arming a fleet of twenty galleys, in different Italian ports and particularly in Venice [57].

Pursuant to the late consistorial decision, the Pontiff named his legates to the European countries, on the 5th of October, 1500 ; namely, the cardinal of Gurck, Raymund Pérault, for Germany and the adjacent Northern kingdoms ; Peter Isualles, cardinal of Reggio, for Hungary, Bohemia and Poland, and, incidentally, for Venice ; and the cardinal of Salerno, Johannes Vera, for France, England, Scotland, Spain and Portugal [58].

Cardinal Pérault, known for his zeal against the Turks, was the first to start on his mission. After receiving his Instructions [59], he left Rome on the 26th of October [60], but he met with opposition as soon as he reached the German frontier. The nobility, the clergy and the cities of the empire were frightened at the thought that he was coming to beg money and men against the Turks, whom they permitted to ravage their provinces with impunity. King Maximilian himself forbade him to enter the country, and the legate was obliged to pass the whole winter in Roveredo. When, finally, he received permission to advance, he was subjected to stringent conditions, before he could publish the centenary jubilee, although the Pope had ordered him to leave all the pious donations of the people in the hands of the general government or of Maximilian, for the benefit of an expedition against the Turks. Though often ill and discouraged, he worked zealously among a crowd of avaricious princes [61].

The cardinal of Salerno commenced his legation by visiting

57. Bosio, San Giovanni Gierosolim., vol. II, p. 538 ; Becchetti, Ultimi quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 297 ; Daru, Hist. de la Républ. de Venise, vol. III, p. 53.

58. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 82 ; Becchetti, ubi supra, p. 299.

59. Archiv. Vatic., Varia Politicorum, VII, 139vo ; and Instructiones Diversae, XXX, 30 ; Bibl. Vaticana, Ottobon.; Cod. 2726, f° 213 ; Urbin., Cod. 864, f° 203.

60. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 83.

61. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 442, 443.

France. He could not avert Louis XII from his designs on the kingdom of Naples, but was well received by him and allowed to publish the tithes imposed of late by the Sovereign Pontiff. As it would necessarily take him a long time to reach Spain, pope Alexander VI himself assisted in the performance of his duties, by writing, already on the 20th of October, 1500, to their Catholic Majesties a brief, whereby he exposed to king Ferdinand the main object of his legate's mission, the expedition against the perfidious Turks, to be undertaken by all Christian princes at the same time, the following spring. In this letter he formally announced his resolution to personally take part in the holy and necessary undertaking, together with the College of cardinals, provided the kings of Spain and of France, or either of them, should accompany him in person [62].

ARTICLE V. — ALLIANCE OF THE POPE WITH HUNGARY AND VENICE.

Cardinal Isualles departed for Hungary and Poland on the 20th of November [63]. According to Instructions received the 18th [64], he was first to go and meet the Venetian Seigniory, and propose to them to assist, together with the Pope, the king of Hungary, in his constant wars against the Turks, and to contract an alliance with both of them. The Pontiff had already conceded to king Ladislas all the proceeds of the late Cruciata or bull of indulgences ; he had given him the tithes of the ecclesiastical revenues in Hungary, and all the pious donations that might be made in his kingdoms on the occasion of the solemn jubilee ; and now his legate was to

62. See Document 201.

63. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 85.

64. Archiv. Vatic., Varia Politicorum, XXX, f° 136 ; Bibl. Vatic., Ottobon., Cod. 2726, and Urbin. Cod. 864, f° 187.

offer him a yearly subsidy of forty thousand ducats, for three years. The Venetians were expected to aid the King with a subvention of one hundred or at least eighty thousand ducats, in proportion to their income and in consideration of the ecclesiastical tithes in their territories granted also to them. The condition of these gifts was that the Hungarian king, together with his brother, Albert, king of Poland, and, as it was suggested, with Maximilian of Germany, should move their armies against the Turks, while Venice and all Italy, aided by France and Spain, should attack the Mohammedans on the seas and their coasts. The war was, if need be, to last three years, and none of the contracting parties was to make peace or truce with the enemy without the consent of the two others. The legate was to remain in Venice until he should have from the Seigniory a clear and definite promise, the deficiency of which would make fruitless his Hungarian mission.

After that, the cardinal was to continue on his journey to Hungary and Poland, and inform king Ladislas of the pecuniary help which he was to receive, assuring him that he would never be abandoned by his allies. The legate was to plead not only with the King, but also to make every effort with the barons and the prelates of the country, for the conclusion of the alliance and the realization of an expedition against the cruel Turks, towards which the Pontiff offered, as he had promised to the king of Spain, his personal participation, that is, to depart himself, together with the Sacred College of cardinals, on the fleet, that was to sail against the enemy, provided the Spanish and the French kings, or either one of them were to follow his example.

The legate was, finally, to visit the king of Poland, to whom the Pope had equally conceded, for the war on the Sultan, all the financial proceeds of the Cruciata, of the Jubilee and of the tithes imposed on the clergy of that king-

dom. He must request king Albert to combine with his brother Ladislas in his warfare against the Turks, and not to make any kind of treaty with them without first obtaining the approval of the Apostolic see.

Cardinal Isualles worked zealously during that winter, and succeeded in bringing about the desired league between the Pope, the Venetian republic and the king of Hungary. The treaty of alliance was solemnly promulgated in Rome, on the feast of Pentecost, the 30th of May, 1501, and celebrated at night with bonfires and illuminations [65].

Pope Alexander VI faithfully performed his part. Although his ordinary income did not exceed two hundred thousand ducats, he had to carry the burdens of an unavoidable war against his rebellious vassals, equip and arm his vessels to join the allied fleet, and cover the ordinary expenses of the administration of the Roman church ; yet, he paid the stipulated forty thousand ducats to the king of Hungary, in three yearly installments, as long as he had no certain knowledge of the treaty of peace contracted by the Venetians with the Turks [66].

On the 17th of May, 1501, he gave orders to pay in Buda, to the Most Serene King of Hungary, as first third portion of his subsidy, the sum of thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three and a third ducats [67].

On the 17th of September of the same year, he ordered paid to his beloved son Ladislas, king of Hungary, five thousand three hundred and thirty-three and a third gold ducats, namely, the remainder of the second third of the forty thousand ducats [68].

When king Ladislas demanded the last third of the forty

65. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 138 ; Pietro Delphini ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1501, no. 1.

66. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Officia, an. X, XI. Lib. III. Regest. 878, f° 59, towards the end of the document.

67. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Julii II. Div. Cam. 1502 to 1508, Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 98vo.

68. Ibid., f° 100vo.

thousand ducats, due the first year, the Pontiff had not on hand the money required ; but he borrowed, on the 24th of January, 1502, the amount that was deficient, six thousand six hundred and thirty-three and a third ducats, from a German banker, to whom he gave, as security, the annates of certain churches that would be paid soon [69].

The papal treasurer paid, on the 15th of July, 1502, to the same banker, Ulrich Fucher, for the king of Hungary, and to be used against the Turks, the sum of two thousand eight hundred and thirty gold florins and fifteen bolognese [70].

We have found no evidence that the Pontiff paid the first installment, 13333-1/3 ducats, due to the king of Hungary, about the middle of May, 1502 ; but among a number of donations made to the King by the Sacred College of cardinals [71], there is a sum of exactly the peculiar amount of 13333-1/3 ducats, which seems to be the first third of 40000 for the year 1502, paid in due time, either by the Pontiff himself or by the cardinals, for him.

The series of those donations, compiled from contemporary account books [72], is as follows :

Ducats	6851	Ducats	222
"	1884 and a fraction	"	51687
"	6886 " " "	"	2325 and a fraction
"	6666	"	2534
"	3587 " " "	"	13333-1/3
"	1884 " " "	"	2325 and a fraction
"	6700	Together	106884-1/3 [73].

69. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1501-1503 Lib. V. Armar. 29, no. 54, fo 138vo.

70. Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, at the date.

71. According to Gottlob : Histor. Jahrbuch, VI, 443.

72. Rome, Archivio di Stato, " Cruciata Pauli II " fiis 102, 127, 187 ; Liber corio rubro tertius not foliated.

73. We presume that these sums were derived from the tithes of the cardinals and of other Roman clergymen.

While pope Alexander VI was negotiating his alliance with the Hungarian king, he did not forget the distressed Grand duchy of Lithuania, which had repeatedly been raided by the Tartars, the accomplices of the Turks. On the 28th of April, 1501, he wrote to Walter, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order of Jerusalem, requesting him to lend his powerful assistance to his neighbor, the grand duke Alexander, who, he promised, would, as occasion offered, give him help to preserve his possessions against their common enemies. He encouraged the two Catholic champions to increased mutual friendship, that would be a source of glory both on earth and with God, and would give the greatest satisfaction to the Holy See [74].

ARTICLE VI. — COOPERATION OF CHRISTIAN PRINCES.

By his treaty with Hungary and Venice the Pope had secured an efficient army to oppose the incursions of the Turks on land, and to divide their forces. To meet them on the sea, the Venetians were hurriedly repairing and strengthening their fleet, and the Pontiff sent fifteen [75], Çurita says twenty, of his forty galleys to be armed in Venice [76]. To cover the expense, he paid, on the 3d day of May, 1501, the sum of fifteen thousand two hundred and fifty gold ducats [77].

The allies could also rely on some well-manned vessels of the Rhodian Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Still, their combined fleet was hardly strong enough to confidently encounter the numerous warships of the fierce Mohammedans. Reenforcements from France and Spain were ardently desired, in fact, indispensable.

Pope Alexander VI had often, but with slight success,

74. Theiner, Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae, t. II, p. 282.
75. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat. Cod. 13824, f° 176.
76. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 26, f° 196.
77. See Document 202.

requested the help of the French king against the Turks, when, at last, the ambition of both monarchs of France and of Spain gave him an opportunity to ensure their cooperation. Ferdinand of Spain and Louis XII had resolved to dispossess Frederic of Naples and to divide his kingdom among themselves, and they sent their ambassadors to the Pope, the suzerain of the Neapolitan State, to ask his investiture. The Pontiff readily deprived of his rights the treacherous Frederic, who had associated with the Sultan ; but, on the 28th of June, 1501, he added to the bull of partition and investiture of Naples a regular contract, drawn up by the notaries public in his presence and in the presence of Roger de Gramont, envoy of Louis XII, and of Francis de Royas, ambassador of the three princes against the Turks [78]. By ratifying the notarial act, both Louis XII and the kings of Spain bound themselves to join their vessels with the papal, the Rhodian and the Venetian fleets, that were to fight the cruel Turks on the sea and on its shores.

After exhausting his resources by the conquest of Milan and of Naples, the French king dreaded the expenses which he was to incur by doing his part in the naval expedition against the Turks, while he now owed to the Pontiff twenty-five thousand mark sterling for the investiture of the Neapolitan kingdom, for whose possession he was to pay him a yearly tribute of four thousand ounces of gold. He asked for relief. Rather than, by exacting payment, jeopardize his fidelity to newly accepted duties, pope Alexander VI generously remitted, by brief of the 27th of August, 1501, all charges of investiture to Louis XII, and to him and his descendants all tribute for his part of the Southern kingdom [79].

78. See Document 165.

79. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 334; Gottlob, Aus der Camera, s. 235 ; Becchetti, Ult. Quattro Secoli, t. VI, p. 317 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1501, no. LXXV, publishes the condoning papal bull.

Thus were, through the Pontiff's zeal and exertions, nearly all the kingdoms of Europe united for a general attack on their powerful enemy. England and other small states were willing to contribute sums of money ; the emperor elect, Maximilian, had given evidence of his velleities, when, in the spring of the year, he had requested the Florentine republic to help him, with a hundred thousand ducats, the moneys of the Jubilee, and a hundred lance, in his projected war against the Infidels [80]. The German princes themselves declared at the diet of Augsburg, that they were not unwilling to take revenge on the Turks, provided the Pope should advance the money to pay the expenses [81]!

It had been agreed between the Pope, the kings of France and of Spain and with the doge of Venice, that cardinal d'Aubusson, Grand Master of the Rhodian knights and an experienced warrior, should be the Captain General of the whole Christian fleet, with the title of papal legate. On the 12th of August, 1501, the Pontiff notified d'Aubusson of his nomination and subjected to his immediate command the fifteen galleys, whose armament he had ordered in Venice and which he would immediately send to him. He assured him that the princes, his allies, through their representatives, had promised in public consistory, that their captains would obey him, as they would the person of the Pope himself. d'Aubusson was to reenforce the fleet with four large war-ships, four galleys and other vessels, at the expenses of his own military Order [82]. After due consideration with the knights of his Chapter, the cardinal accepted the important commission.

The prospect of a general expedition was now more

80. Nardi, Histor. di Firenze, vol. I, pp. 255, seq.

81. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Cod. M. M. fo 42vo.

82. Paris, Bibl. Nation., Fonds Lat., Cod. 13824, fo 178; Bosio, S. Giovanni Gierosolimitano, vol. II, pp. 537, 538 ; Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1501, no. II.

promising than it had ever been before. The Spanish great captain, Consalvo Fernandez, was keeping his fleet near Otranto ; the lord of Ravestain was equipping the French vessels, and Emmanuel, king of Portugal, who was already at war with the Moors of Africa, sent a squadron to join the Venetian fleet, in the Ionian sea [83] ; and they were all to fight together under the experienced Grand Master of the Rhodian knights.

To encourage and help the Portuguese monarch, pope Alexander VI, on the 23d of October, published in Portugal and Algarve the three years' tithes of all ecclesiastical revenues and a special bull granting the benefits of a cruciata and of the centenary jubilee [84].

The results did not, however, correspond to the expectations. Consalvo remained on the Southern coast of Italy, and when the Portuguese captain, who had arrived in Corfu, was requested by Pesaro to unite with the Venetian fleet, he answered that it was impossible for him to remain in those waters for any length of time [85]. The lord of Ravestain, Philip de Cléves, had come with eight vessels and joined them to those of Venice, on the 13th of October [86]. When making his appearance in the Aegean sea, he wrote to the Captain General, d'Aubusson, that he was, together with thirty Venetian galleys, before the island of Lesbos or Mitylene, and he requested him to come and take command. Of the vessels promised by the Pope neither the French nor the Venetian captain had any information to give.

d'Aubusson sailed from Rhodes towards Mitylene with thirty-six gallant ships, on the 21st of November ; but during

83. Bosio, Hist. di S. Giovanni Gierosolno, vol. II, p. 549.

84. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. VIII ad XI. Lib. II. Regest. 868, fiis 117vo, 119. Published by Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1501, no. LXXVIII.

85. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 51, fo 223 ; Bosio, ubi supra.

86. Bosio, ibid., p. 549.

the voyage he received a letter from Captain Pesaro dated the 13th, telling him the saddening news, that de Ravestain, without consulting him, had resolved to attack the city of Mitylene, that the Venetians had fought with him to the last, and that, when they had seen the Turks withstand all their efforts, the Frenchman had given up the battle twice and was now on his way home [87]. The lord of Ravestain himself wrote to the Grand Master, that the undertaking against Mitylene had proved to be more difficult than it had been represented to him ; that, to avoid greater inconvenience, he had raised the siege, and, since, moreover, the winter had set in, he had made up his mind to return to the West, and, with his kind permission, he would depart in a day or two [88]. If we can believe Burchard [89], he, at the same time, wrote a different story to Rome : that, namely, Mitylene was captured and about two thousand Turks had been slain !

d'Aubusson and Pesaro met off Naxia, on the island of Naxos, on the 26th of November, 1501, and, after mature deliberations, concluded to write to the Pope, to the king of France and to the other confederates, to beg them that their fleets should be ready to assemble the next coming spring. Then, on the 3d of December, they separated, the Grand Master sailing to the East and Pesaro to the West [90].

No sooner had the Captain General heard of the absence of the pontifical galleys, than he notified the Pope and requested their early appearance. We have noticed already that the Pontiff had duly paid, in the spring of this year the sum of fifteen thousand two hundred and fifty ducats for the equipment of his fleet [91] ; and he was naturally surprised when receiving the pressing letters of cardinal d'Aubusson. Investigation brought to light that the moneys had not been used,

87. Bosio, ibid., pp. 547, 549.
88. Idem, ibid.
89. Diar., t. III, p. 172.
90. Bosio, Hist. di S. Giovanni Gierosolmo, vol. II, pp. 550, 551.
91. See Document 202.

but were lying idle at the Venetian branch house of the German bankers, Ulrich Fucher and brothers. They should have been handed to Anthony, bishop of Venosa ; who was the papal envoy in Venice and charged with the armament of the galleys. But this bishop died at that time, and was replaced by Angelus, bishop of Tivoli [92], who had lost sight of this particular duty, or had been hampered in the execution of his commission by the Venetian authorities. In a letter of the 25th of April, 1502, to cardinal d'Aubusson, pope Alexander VI gave as cause of the regretted shortcoming both the demise of the bishop of Venosa and the interference of the Venetians [93]. On the 20th of April, he named James, bishop of Paphos, his commissary and captain of his fleet, with charge to transfer it to the command of the venerable Captain General [94]. Towards the middle of the year 1502, the fleet of the Rhodian Knights had joined the one of Venice off the island of Cerigo, where the bishop of Paphos also arrived, soon after, with a dozen of papal galleys and galleons, which, with the consent of d'Aubusson, remained with Pesaro. In the meantime, other pontifical ships were made ready in Genoa and in Pisa, so as to bring up the number of the papal sails to twenty, before the end of the month of May [95].

Engaged as he was with the equipment of his own fleet, the Pontiff did not cease to encourage and to urge the Christian princes, to do their share in the war against the Turks, till their efforts should be crowned with full success.

In a new letter to the Spanish kings, he gave a pathetic description of the cruelties, the destruction and ravage perpetrated by the Infidels, of their thirst after more Christian

92. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Diversa Camerae, 1501-1503, Armar. 29, no. 54, f° 139.

93. Bosio, ubi supra, p. 559.

94. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. VIII ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868, f° 66. The text ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1502, no. XIX.

95. Bosio, ubi supra, p. 561.

blood and of their wish to extirpate Christianity. He offers himself again to personally enter the war against them, if accompanied by any Catholic king and, after the example of Christ, to give his life for the salvation of the people. He, finally, concludes his writing by prescribing a two years' tithe on all ecclesiastical revenues in Spain, to help cover the expenses of the holy and necessary undertaking [96].

d'Aubusson had planned to make a great attack on the Turks, while Sofi, the sultan of Persia, was fighting them on their Eastern borders [97] ; but, as dissensions arose between France and Spain in the kingdom of Naples, the fleets of these two countries did not appear in the Grecian waters. The Grand Master was obliged to abandon his vast design, and Pesaro and the bishop of Paphos returned with their fleets to the Ionian sea. Here they attacked the fortified town of Santa Maura in the island of the same name, on the 23^{d} of August, 1502, and took it on the 30th, making prisoners the five or six hundred Turkish defenders left alive, and restoring to liberty a great number of Christian slaves [98].

According to Bosio, this brilliant victory was due, in a great measure, to the skill and courage of the soldiers of the papal galleys. The Venetian envoy in Rome, Giustinian, reports in a pungent manner [99] how the taking of Santa Maura was announced at the consistory of the 30th of September, 1502 : " The Pope ", he writes, " ordered to be read the letter of the bishop of Paphos, commissary of the apostolic fleet ; from which it seemed that he alone with his half a dozen of galleys, had captured Santa Maura, and that, without him, nothing had been done.—And here the Pope remarked : The ambassador of Venice has, in the name of his Seigniory,

96. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1502, no. XVIII.

97. Bosio, ubi supra, p. 562 ; Daru, Hist. de la Républ. de Venise, t. III, p. 53.

98. Bosio, ubi supra, p. 562 ; Sagredo, Memorie Storiche, p. 114.

99. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 134.

communicated to us a summary of the news ; and they take all the praise to themselves. Then he said with a certain accent : ' Quid juris ', what is the right about such a place, having been acquired by our men ? Cardinal Grimani answered him most appropriately : It behooves, Holy Father, that Your Holiness keep it well garrisoned, fortify the island and have it provided with troops, so that you may conserve it in your name and for the apostolic See.—He feigned not to hear, and spoke of something else ".

Cardinal d'Aubusson intended to execute his former designs against sultan Bajazeth, who was still at war on his Persian frontier ; and wrote on the 10th of October, to the Pope and to the kings of England, of France and of Spain, begging them to send to him as many vessels as possible, for the spring of 1503. Pope Alexander VI, encouraged also by Venice, had armed no less than twenty galleys during the first half of that year [100].

ARTICLE VII. — PEACE OF VENICE WITH THE TURKS.

In the meantime preparations of quite a different nature were being made by the courts of Venice and of Constantinople.

The courage and confidence of the Sovereign Pontiff had been greatly revived by the successes of Consalvo Fernandez and of Pesaro during the winter of 1500 to 1501. Bajazeth, on the contrary, whose fleet had been driven away, who had undergone several losses on the Hungarian frontier and was assailed by sultan Sofi, manifested his desire of making peace with the Venetian republic, and his subjects were wishing the

100. Bosio, Hist. di S. Giovanni Gierosolimit., vol. II, p. 563 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 20.

war to end, deprived as they were of many necessaries of life, in consequence of the interruption of commerce and navigation [101]. The Venetians also were tired of the war, and their finances exhausted. They saw, moreover, with displeasure that the papal troops were steadily progressing against the rebellious lords of Romagna, and they were looking for an occasion to direct their soldiers against those of their ally, the Pontiff, and to increase their territories with the portions of the Pontifical States, which they invaded soon after the death of pope Alexander VI.

The year 1502 would have been the propitious time for the Christians to combine their forces, and to strike a fatal blow. Venice further regained, with the help of the Pope and of the Rhodian knights, the small island of Santa Maura, but had already, upon the request of Bajazeth, commissioned Andreas Gritti, to secretly commence negotiations, which stopped at once all further Turkish aggressions and soon procured a general agreement. Ere long a rumor arose, that a treaty of peace had been concluded.

We shall here report without comment a series of facts, literally taken from the letters of the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, confident that the reader will not fail to notice the uprightness of pope Alexander VI, his fidelity to treaties, his prudence and his anxiety for the safety of Christian Europe. The facts will sufficiently set forth the wilful deception of Venice and of its envoy, their endeavor to weaken the Pontiff for their own advantage and their Bethmann-Hollweg treachery in violating their contract of alliance with the Pope.

As early as the 4th of June, 1502, the Pope told the Venetian envoy, Giustinian, that from many reports he had learned that the Venetian Seigniory was secretly holding intercourse with

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101. Bosio, ubi supra, p. 559 ; Pantaleone, De Rhodiorum Rebus Gestis, Lib. V, p. 148 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 507 ; Sagredo, Memorie Storiche, p. 115.

the Sultan, and some there were to affirm that an accord was already made between the doge and the Grand Turk. He added, however, smiling, that he did not believe it, because it would be an infamy and a sacrilege. And indeed, Venice was by oath bound to sign neither peace nor armistice, without the consent of its allies, the Pope and the king of Hungary. Giustinian did his best to prove that peace was neither made nor to be made, and incited the Pontiff to continue the good work, which he had commenced against the perfidious enemy of the Christian religion [102].

On the 6th, a treaty of peace between Venice and the Turks was already believed to be in existence, because of the fact that the Seigniory was making no special preparation for further war [103].

On the 8th, the members of the Roman court, considering that the possessions of Venice remained free from the attacks of the Turks, were convinced that peace had been made between them [104].

On the 14th, Giustinian, pretending that the Turks were threatening the city of Catarro, requested the Pope to send his galleys to reenforce the Venetian fleet. The Pontiff answered that he would send them in a few days, and wrote an order to place them under the command of the Venetian captain [105].

On the 21st, Giustinian reported that, notwithstanding his denials, Rome continued to fear that the Republic was willing to make peace with the Turk [106].

On the 22d, the ambassador of Venice requested the Pope to dispatch also the three galleys armed in Genoa and the two [107] made ready in Pisa. The Pontiff replied that he had paid for them, and wondered that they had not arrived yet ;

102. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 14, 15.
103. Villari, ibid., p. 17.
104. Villari, ibid., p. 20.
105. Id. ibid., p. 24.
106. Villari, ibid., p. 28.
107. Bosio, Hist. di S. Giovanni Gierosolim, vol. II, p. 559.

and if the ones from Pisa should come late, he would replace them with two that were in Rome [108].

On the 30th, the vessels from Genoa were expected still, and Giustinian allowed himself to admonish His Holiness, to keep his promise of forwarding twenty armed ships to the Venetian fleet [109].

On the 4th of July, 1502, Giustinian reported to Venice, that the king of France was unwilling to prepare for war this year, for he thought that the Turkish fleet would not issue from the Dardanelles. He added a remark from the Pope, that, namely, there was danger in store for Dalmatia, because the Republic kept no armed force there, although it was full of dangerous people [110]. But, shortly after, an agent of emperor Maximilian informed his master, that, according to the opinion of everyone, peace had been declared between Venice and the Turks, since the Seigniory was neglectful in its naval interest, and intercepted all letters coming from the East ; it was also remarked that there was perfect harmony in Dalmatia among the Venetians who were importing wheat from that country and from the Turks, who themselves said that peace had been concluded between them [111].

On the 17th, the Pope expressed his opinion that the Turks would make no incursions that year, and reiterated that the cardinals and everyone else believed that Venice had come to an agreement with them. The Venetian ambassador thought, therefore, that no further help could be expected from Rome and that it was useless to insist any longer [112].

On August, the 19th, the Pope complained, in and out of the consistory, of the Venetians, for making peace with the

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108. Villari, ubi supra, p. 29.
109. Id. ibid., p. 43.
110. Id. ibid., p. 49.
111. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs ; Maximiliana, Sept. 4, 1502 : Original paper.
112. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 58.

Turks, which he considered very detrimental to the whole of Christianity [113].

On the 27th of October, the Pontiff said to the Venetian envoy : Upon your honor, tell me whether it is true that your Seigniory has made peace with the Turks. Giustinian answered : No ; and the Pope replied : Yet, everyone is assured of it [114].

On November, the 20th, the Venetian envoy wrote home that the Pope and the cardinals firmly believed the peace to be made. Giustinian asserted that all news of the peace was false ; and that, should it be true, His Holiness would have been informed by the Venetian Seigniory. So it ought to be, the Pontiff remarked [115].

Finally, on the 4th of December, pope Alexander VI declared that, at last, he had learned from a letter of his legate that peace had been concluded with the Turks by the republic of Venice and the king of Hungary, on the condition that all Christians were included. He added, however, that it would have been better to remain united and fight the Turks. But as this could now be done, the Pope was satisfied, provided all Christian princes were included in the treaty. Giustinian continued to deny the conclusion of peace [116].

On the 8th of December, the Venetian ambassador acknowledged the action of his Seigniory in making peace, and asked the assent of the Pontiff, who, with his usual love of justice and fidelity to treaties, remarked that he was not allowed to give it, without first consulting the wishes of king Ladislas. As Giustinian rejoined that the King had virtually consented already, the Pope promised him an answer at the consistory of the following day [117].

On the 12th of December, the Pontiff told Giustinian : You

113. Villari, ibid., p. 95.
114. Villari, ibid., p. 178.
115. Villari, ibid., p. 229.
116. Villari, ibid., p. 246.
117. Villari, ibid., pp. 251, 252.

should not wonder at what we said the other day, as if you would rather expect us to praise you for making peace with the Infidels and leaving the other Christians in jeopardy. But last night we received a letter from the king of Hungary, who writes like the Illustrious Seigniory, that the Turk is willing to make a peace in which all Christian princes can join, the Italians having six months to accept it, and the ultramontanes, a year. Such being the case, we are satisfied and well pleased. The letter of your Seigniory was too lame, it mentioned nothing of those clauses. But, for the justification of your doings, you told things in which there is no truth : Not one, but you, speaks of a family alliance between the Turk and the Tartar, and as regards the accord of Bajazeth with the Sultan Sofi, we understand the contrary to be the fact [118].

The Turks and the Venetians had long since agreed on the articles of their treaty ; but only, on the 14th of December, 1502, did Bajazeth give them his formal consent, according to Balan [119]. The papal legate in Venice had written before the 4th of March that the document was expected from day to day to arrive [120], that its conditions were accepted under oath by the doge, on the 20th of May, and, finally, confirmed and ratified by the Sultan, on the 6th of October, 1503 [121].

The articles were as follows : The Turks were to retain all conquests made by them and Santa Maura should be restored to them. Bajazeth should return to the merchants of Venice whatever he had taken from them at the beginning of the war. The Venetians should be allowed to navigate the Black Sea, as they used to do in the past, and trade along its coasts ; and to keep, as before, their own consul in Constantinople.

118. Villari, ibid., p. 266.
119. Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 403.
120. Villari, ubi supra, p. 432.
121. Balan, ubi supra, refer. to Malipiero and Venetian records.

to judge and decide all contoversies among Venetian subjects [122]. According to Balan [123], there were two more articles, namely, Venice should keep the island of Zante, but pay for it to the Sultan an annual tribute of five hundred ducats, and war should be made on piracy.

This treaty was duly observed for several years.

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122. Bosio, ubi supra, p. 562 ; Pantaleone, De Rhodiorum Rebus gestis, Lib. V, p. 148.

123. Ubi supra.

CHAPTER III.

Death of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — DANGERS ESCAPED BY THE POPE.

Having completed the history of the efforts and actions of Pope Alexander VI, we may well observe that his long life was an uninterrupted succession of labors, alleviated but seldom by legitimate diversions, which invariably were of an elevating or beneficial nature. When a youth, he was a student as diligent as successful, whose recreation it was to discuss with his companions the difficult topics of their studies ; and thus he prepared himself for an exceptionally brilliant graduation. No sooner was he named a cardinal, than his days were taken up by religious functions and the duties of his principal office, by papal legations and the cares of his important administrations. He devoted his leisure moments to the writing of works of Canon Law or to debating, with the members of his court, subjects of literature and science, sometimes till late at night. His sleep and his meals were always very short ; yet, it is difficult to see how he could have the time to devise and execute his countless acts, crowded into the space of the eleven years of his supreme pontificate. Their record fills a hundred and twenty large folio volumes, and they are sufficient in number and importance to illustrate the longest reign of any Pontiff. His very excursions in the neighborhood of Rome, the only relaxation in which he indulged, as a Pope, formed part of his careful administration of the Pontifical States. The only occasion in all his life, that we do not see him engaged with serious occupations is, when, as a cardinal, he accompanied pope

Pius II, and was by duty compelled to while away his time, looking for the arrival of ambassadors of the Christian princes at the congress of Mantua.

Truly the life of pope Alexander VI was a busy, strenuous and well-spent life. To perform the deeds which he accomplished, a good and robust health was required and was, fortunately, enjoyed by the Pontiff almost without any interruption. Although his labors and anxieties brought on, in advanced age, occasional fainting spells, as in the beginning of the year 1495, when he was oppressed by king Charles VIII [1], he was still, at the age of seventy years, full of activity and seemed to become rejuvenated.

He happily escaped some accidents that almost caused the loss of his life. Thus, if we can believe Sanuto [2], he was saved by the cardinal of Capua, in the year 1500, from a furious old stag, that ran at him in the garden of a certain villa.

After dusk, on the 28th of June of the same year, bonfires were kindled in Rome, the buildings were illuminated and the bells rung, to usher in the feastday of St. Peter. On the clock tower of the Vatican palace, men were busy lighting torches and making the bells resound. The Pontiff with one cardinal, to enjoy the fresh air and see the fires burn, stepped out of his room to the entrance of the palace grounds. Here they were standing, when suddenly a piece of iron, weighing thirty-six pounds, came down from the tower, pierced the eaves and fell to the ground between their feet. Both were greatly frightened, but escaped unhurt [3].

This occurrence was the forerunner of a more grievous

1. Card. Caesarini, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXVI, 48, at the date of " V Januarii ".
2. Diar., III, 662, ap. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 443.
3. P. Delphini to Barrotio, bishop of Padua, Epistol. Lib. VI. Epist. 38.

casualty on the following day. The whole of St. Peter's day was, from early morning till late evening, one continual storm of rain and large hailstones, of thunder and lightning and of most violent winds, that felled and uprooted many trees ; and towards evening the tempest grew more severe [4]. After the solemnities of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul were duly finished in their basilica, we returned to the palace, the Pontiff relates, and we sat down on the papal chair, in the hall of the Pontiffs, in the presence of a few cardinals and ambassadors, in order to give audiences [5]. The gusts of wind that entered by the open windows, were annoying the Pontiff, who directed the cardinal Lopez and private chamberlain, Gaspar Poto, to go and close the two windows. They had hardly reached the embrasures, when all of a sudden a ponderous crash was felt and made the few attendants of the Pope jump for safety towards the door [6]. A heavy chimney that protuded several feet above the roof, was blown down, broke through the rafters of the roof, the ceiling and floor of the upper story, and then through the ceiling of the hall of the Pontiffs, where pope Alexander VI was sitting ; bringing along with it a huge mass of broken brick and splintered timbers, together with the mangled bodies of several persons from the room above, which was occupied by officials and servants of Cesar de Borgia [7]. Cardinal Lopez and the chamberlain were frantically holding on the iron window guards, sheltered by the vaults of the alcoves wherein they stood. The Pope was not to be seen, and, when called, did not answer. The news soon spread, that he was killed. The

4. Pope Alex. VI ap. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 398 ; Brandolinus Lippus, ap. Römische Quartalschrift, Bd. II, s. 183 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 65.

5. Pope Alexander VI, ap. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 398 ; P. Delphini, ubi supra.

6. Brandolinus Lippus, ubi supra.

7. Pope Alexander VI ap. Balan, ubi supra, Burchard, Diar., Append. p. 434 ; Brandolinus Lippus, ubi supra.

master beam, directly above the papal throne, was broken in two, but the wooden keys that supported its extremities, held both its pieces in a slanting position down to the floor ; and the girders, broken loose from their gains in the main timber, remained suspended in the air from their fastenings in the opposite walls ; thus pouring the debris towards the center of the hall. The cords that were holding the golden cloth, which formed the canopy over the papal chair, had been snapped off, and the cloth had fallen so as to envelop and protect the Pontiff [8]. This cover itself was hidden under dust and smaller rubbish. Here, still on his throne, the Pope was at last detected, dazed and speechless. His servants led him to an adjoining room, where proper remedies were administered to him, by his physician, the bishop of Capaccio. He was found to be hurt twice on the head, his scalp being torn in one place and contused in another. Two of his fingers and his right arm were also injured ; but he soon rallied and was quickly restored to perfect health again [9].

The Pontiff ascribed the wonderful preservation of his life to the mercy of Our Savior Jesus Christ and to the intercession of His glorious mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the holy apostles, whose festivity he had just devoutly celebrated. On the 25th of July, he made a solemn pilgrimage to the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, where he gave thanks, and made, on the main altar an offering of a beautiful gilt chalice, containing about three hundred gold ducats [10].

The Pontiff had, after this accident took place, three more years to labor, before the Blessed Virgin and the other saints, whom he had always honored and venerated, conducted him, we are confident, into Heaven to the reward of his great and

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8. Pope Alex. VI ap. Balan, ubi supra ; Burchard, ubi supra.

9. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 66, 434 ; Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 10, f° 183.

10. Pope Alex. VI, ubi supra ; Burchard, ubi supra, p. 67 ; Çurita, ubi supra.

virtuous deeds ; before also his enemies commenced the concerted persecution of libel and slander against his memory on earth.

ARTICLE II. — STORY THAT ALEXANDER DIED POISONED.

Pope Alexander VI died on the 18th of August, 1503, and the following morning his corpse was carried to St. Peter's basilica, where it remained uncovered nearly the whole day, to receive the respectful homage of the Roman people. The dead were not then, as they are too often nowadays, desecrated by the casting away of their entrails into the sewer. Besides, it must be observed that the Pontiff had been a man of more than ordinary corpulence, and again, that in Rome it was the time of the greatest summer heat. The natural consequence of those combined circumstances was, that fermentation of the corpse would soon set in and its decomposition be rapid. So it happened. The whole body, and the face especially, commenced to swell, to turn dark and to foam from the mouth ; and it had soon become unrecognizable and altogether a horrible sight [11]. The ugliness of the corpse called forth the idea of poison in the minds of many common people, who did not apprehend its obvious causes [12].

This popular surmise was readily accepted by the enemies of the Pontiff's religious reforms and of his political achievements, especially by the numerous barons and princes of the Pontifical States, whom he had expelled for their rebellion to his authority and their abuse of his people ; and who were now hurrying back to their former possessions [13].

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11. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 243 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 494.

12. Bertrand Costabili, envoy of Ferrara, ap. Villari Dispacci, vol. II, p. 121, n.; Jovius, Vita Consalvi, Lib. II, p. 259 ; Muratori, Antiquitates Estenses, vol. II, p. 275.

13. The Gallican Stephen Forcatulus already wrote : " The Orsini added to other calumnies,

On the 26d of August, the suspicion had grown into a horrible fact. Tommaso di Silvestro, of Orvieto, jotted down in his chronicle how pope Alexander had died, the Friday before, together with certain other prelates or bishops, poisoned at a repast given by Messer Andriano, a cardinal [14].

On the 25th, the rumor, " s'affirma ", had already spread as far as Trieste, that the Pope had died of poison [15]. The rumor soon became a general belief, of uncertain origin, " incerto auctore " [16], to which mere hatred and revenge added the venomous particular, that the Pope himself had prepared the poison for others, on the occasion of a supper taken, together with Cesar de Borgia, at the villa of cardinal Adrian of Corneto.

Paul Jovio, of Como, relates [17] that the Spanish ambassador at Rome announced to Consalvo that the Pontiff Alexander had been seized by a deadly sickness, about the 13th of August, and had died four days after. As the Pope and Cesar de Borgia had been suffering of the same illness, the people held for certain, " populus pro comperto habebat ", that they both had, through a fatal mistake of a servant, drunk from the same poisoned bottle, which they had prepared for the guests, at a supper near a fountain, in the rear of the Vatican.

The Venetian Latinist, cardinal Bembo, tells more positively that Alexander departed this life, by drinking, through an imprudence of a butler, the poison, which he had secretly ordered to be given to cardinal Adrian [18], in whose garden he

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which it is not necessary to mention, that Alexander and the Valentinois perished through their own and not another's poison : Lib. IV. De philosophia et Gallorum imperio, ap. Nemec, Papst Alexander VI, s. 214.

14. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 403.

15. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1503, Aug. 25.

16. Raphael Volaterranus, Commentarium Urbanorum Libri.

17. Vita Consalvi, Lib. VIII, p. 259.

18. Adrian Castelles, of Corneto, where he had been admitted to the clerical tonsure.

took supper, together with his son Cesar, he says. He indicates the motive of his calumny, when he adds : " It was the will of the immortal gods, that they who had killed with poison many princes of the Roman republic, in order to obtain possession of their riches and treasures, should thus perish by their own act " [19].

A contemporary of the two former authors, the famous Florentine, Guicciardini, wrote almost two score years after the pretended event, more at length than others, the tale of the Pontiff's death from poison. We here literally translate it from his History of Italy [20]. " When pope Alexander VI was at the apogee of his greatest expectations, he was suddenly carried, considered as dead, to the pontifical palace, from a villa near the Vatican, where he had gone to sup and to find relief from the heat of the day ; and immediately after him was carried, as dead, his son. The following day, which was the 18th of August, he was dead and taken, as it is the custom with deceased Popes, to the church of St. Peter ; black, swollen and most hideous : evident signs of poison. Valentine (the duke of Valentinois) kept his life, thanks to the vigor of his age and the prompt use of powerful remedies, appropriate to cases of poisoning ; but he remained subject to long and serious infirmities. It is a constant belief that this accident was caused by poison, and the event is told, according to the most common report, in the following manner: Valentine, who was to go to the same supper, had resolved to poison the cardinal Adrian of Corneto [21]. And so it is

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19. Historiae Venetae, Lib. VI, p. 218.

20. Vol. II, Lib. VI, Cap. I, p. 75.

21. Here follows a parenthesis, more libelous than the story itself: " For it is a well-known fact that it was a frequent habit of the father and of the son, to make use of poison, not only to revenge themselves on their enemies and to secure themselves against suspects, but also, through criminal covetousness, to despoil of their lawful possessions persons endowed with riches, among cardinals and other members of their court ; without considering that

narrated that Valentine sent ahead certain flasks of wine infected with poison ; and after he had ordered them to be handed to a servant, who was not cognizant of the plot, with directions not to give of them to anyone, the Pontiff happened to arrive before the time set for the supper, and, overcome by thirst and heat, he asked to be given a drink ; and, as the provisions had not arrived yet from the palace, the servant gave him to drink of the wine which Valentine had sent ahead; for he thought that it was the wine to be reserved as the most precious ; and, while his father was drinking, Valentine also arrived, and likewise commenced to drink of the same wine ".

Guicciardini tries to shift upon others the responsibility for his statement, by introducing the words : " it is a constant belief " and " according to the most common report " ; but his vicious parenthesis denotes his intent of positively asserting the Pope's disgraceful death by poison ; and so he has been generally understood, and followed by Sansovino [22] and Panvinio, the continuator of Platina's Lives of the Popes ; by Ciaconius [23], and Joannes Mariana [24], by Fabronius [25] and a few others, till this day. These authors were likely not aware of the fact that Guicciardini himself had afterwards written [26] that, " although people are agreed upon the greater part of the details of the Pontiff's death, yet the cause of his demise is told in different ways " [27].

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they never had received any offense from them ; as was the case of the very rich cardinal of Sant' Angelo ; not even that they were their best friends and their nearest relations, and that some of them, like the cardinals of Capua and of Modena, were their most useful and most faithful servants " !

22. Casa Orsina, p. 133vo.

23. Vita Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 173.

24. Oldoinus, Addit. ad Ciaconium.

25. Leonis X Vita, p. 33.

26. Opere inedite illustrate, t. VIII, p. 301, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 283, n. 2.

27. Stories similar to the one of Guicciardini are found also in the works of his contemporaries : Peter Martyr, Matarazzo and Sanuto ; but, we have noticed before, that the first of these is a latin literator and not a historian, and the present subject will afford a new proof that the two last are generally unreliable. Of the letters of Peter Martyr, Gregorovius

Of the subsequent historians a few relate the ugly story, but without vouching for its truthfulness. So does Ugolini state [28] : Some people say, " dicono alcuni, " that Alexander VI died of poison mixed for others by himself and his son, which they drank in consequence of a servant's mistake. Others, as time goes on, doubt the legend and discuss its credibility ; while, today, no conscientious historian speaks of it any more, but to deny and to ridicule it.

Already Sigismondo dei Conti, a contemporary of pope Alexander VI, after stating his own belief, reports, as a rumor, that a few days before his death, the Pontiff had supped in the gardens of Adrian of Corneto ; and he adds that " there was a rumor, according to which Valentine had prepared poison for Adrian and some other guests, " ut fama fuit " ; but the plot went against its very author, for the butler forgot which were the wines that Valentine had ordered him to give to the Pope and to himself, and which were those that he should set before the guests. It is said, " dicitur ", that he served to the Pope and to Valentine the wine that he had been directed to give to the others. Sigismondo closes the hearsay with these significant words : But I am not, myself, certain whether all that is fact or fiction, " sed haec facta an ficta sint, " nor by whom or for whom the poison was prepared [29].

ARTICLE III. — THE POPE'S POISONING IS A FICTION.

There are good reasons to convince us that the story is no fact, but fiction. An event, the details of which are related

says, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 322, footn. 2 : Freilich sind diese Briefe später überarbeitet worden, wie Ranke nachgewiesen hat.

28. Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 121.

29. Le Storie dei Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 268.

in the same manner by different writers, is probable, if not necessarily true ; but this probability is wanting in the present case, whose essential components, circumstances and adornments are all told with the greatest discrepancies or contradictions, leaving the supper at cardinal Adrian's villa to be the only detail narrated or mentioned in a consistent form.

Who were the criminals ? Bembo [30] and Panvinius [31], for instance, accuse the Pontiff ; Guicciardini [32], Sigismondo dei Conti [33], Peter Martyr [34], Mariana [35], Çurita [36] and others impute the evil deed to Cesar de Borgia ; while Jovius [37], Ugolini [38] and a few more consider both of them as having conspired to commit the crime. Finally, a Venetian report indicts some unknown enemy of the Borgias [39].

And, how did the Pope and Cesar happen to drink of the wine, which they themselves had infected ? This was evidently a question hard to solve ; and the story-tellers have variously tried to answer it in a manner more or less plausible. Jovius and others assert that it was simply through a mistake or forgetfulness of a butler taking one flask for another. This explanation is easy, indeed ; but how could the butler so soon forget the directions, which, no doubt, had been most explicitly given to him, in regard to a matter of such a consequence ? Guicciardini tells us that Cesar de Borgia drank of the poisoned wine as readily as the Pope, without asking any questions, without any thought or apprehension that the bottle, set before them, might possibly be one of the death-dealing bottles, which he had sent shortly before. Peter

30. Hist. Venet., Lib. VI, p. 218.
31. Vita Roman. Pontif, p. 341.
32. Storia d'Italia, Lib. VI, vol. II, p. 75.
33. Le Storie dei Suoi Tempi, vol. II, p. 268.
34. Ap. Archiv. Storico Lombardo, an. II, p. 25.
35. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 402.
36. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. V, Cap. 42, fo 298vo.
37. Vita Consalvi, Lib. II, p. 259.
38. Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 121.
39. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 497.

Martyr has imagined a different solution of the difficulty. The butler had been duly cautioned, but when the Pontiff arrived at Adrian's villa, he gave him an order that obliged him to retire from the apartment. Cesar requested the Pope to send another man on the errand, but the Pope insisted on his command, and Cesar asked no further, for fear of raising suspicion against himself. Another servant took the buttler's place, and by mischance poured from the infected bottle for the Pontiff and Cesar, and to the others he gave the pure and beneficial wine [40].

Nor were such details satisfactory to either Voltaire or Gregorovius, neither of whom was prejudiced in favor of any Pope. Men of experience, they say, would have taken sufficient precautions and not have exposed themselves to such possible contingencies [41]. Should pope Alexander VI have truly been poisoned, the latter remarks, then we might admit, as more probable, the Venetian report, which asserts that the cupbearer of cardinal Adrian had been bribed with ten thousand ducats to set poisoned sweetmeats before the Pontiff.

Who were the victims of the tragedy? If we should believe Gordon, the Pontiff expired immediately after taking the fatal draught, at the cardinal's villa [42]; or, at least, he felt the deadly effect of the poisoned wine at once [43]. According to Guicciardini, he was carried back to the pontifical palace in a dying condition, and was a corpse the following day [44]. Jovius, however, gives him four more days to live [45], and

40. P. Martyr ap. Archiv. Stor. Lombardo, an. II, p. 25 ; Moreri, Grand Dictionnaire, Art. Borgia.

41. Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs, ap. Archiv. Stor. Lomb., an. II, p. 11 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 497.

42. Alexandre VI, t. II, p. 296.

43. Mariana, Hist. d'Espagne, t. V. p. 402.

44. Storia d'Italia, Lib. VI, p. 75 of vol. VII ; Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 121.

45. Vita Consalvi, Lib. II, p. 259.

Muratori [46] relates that Beltrando Costabili, who was then in Rome, and Nicholas Buoncane wrote, in five days, ten letters to the duke of Ferrara and to the cardinal of Este, from which it is evident that the aged Pontiff died after eight days of sickness. We shall presently notice that he died two weeks after his supper at cardinal Adrian's villa.

The second pretended victim was Cesar de Borgia, who, like the Pontiff, was carried from the villa to the Vatican, Guicciardini says. Heroic remedies were applied to revive him. As the poison had made him cold, a mule was gashed open, and the patient was thrust into its palpitating bowels [47]. Voltaire himself, who swallowed many an absurdity, wanted to know of what kind of poison the entrails of a mule are the antidote.

As a matter of course, the cardinal Adrian of Corneto is represented as a sufferer of the poisoned wine, and Mariana asserts that he died of it [48]. In fact, Giustinian reported to Venice [49] that Adrian of Corneto could not assist at the reunion of the cardinals, on the 19th of August, 1503, because he felt indisposed, " per indisposizione ". If we could believe Jovius and his copyist, Gregorovius [50], Adrian of Corneto himself should have told that the poisoned wine—which froze Cesar de Borgia—burned his entrails so violently, that he lost consciousness and was compelled to take a cold bath. The skin itself of his whole body had been so scorched, that, when he came to life again, it sloughed off, in pieces, from his extre-

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46. Antiquitates Estenses, vol. II, p. 275.

47. Peter Martyr, ap. Archiv. Stor. Lombardo, an. II, p. 25 ; Mariana, Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 402 : On dit que rien ne contribua davantage a sa guérison, qu'une mule qu'on éventra, et dans le ventre de laquelle on le mit pour le réchauffer.

48. Mariana, ibid.

49. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p 123.

50. Relatively, Vita Consalvi, Lib. II, p. 259 and Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, p. 499.

51. Cantu, Réforme en Italie, Disc. XV, p. 589 ; Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXXIV, p. 433 ; Archiv. Secret Vatic., Armar. XII, no. 122 : Acta Consist. 1517-1534, fiis 8vo, 13, 23.

mities. Thus blistered within and without, he still lived to tell of the terrible effect of a poison conquered by a lotion of cold water! Risum teneatis, amici! Should cardinal Adrian actually have told such a tale, we should remark that he was capable of doing worse, and richly deserved being banished by pope Julius II, and of being deprived of all his dignities by pope Leo X [51]. When, however, we notice that cardinal Adrian joined, on the 4th of March of the following year, the Spanish cardinals, to speak to pope Julius II in favor of Cesar de Borgia [52], we cannot but lay the ridiculous untruth at the door of the historian and throw aside the whole of his story.

Peter Martyr assures us that it was Cesar de Borgia who lost his hair and skin, as an effect of the poison ; but does not so much as mention the cardinal of Corneto [53].

Bembo and Guicciardini name the cardinal as the intended, but not as an actual, sufferer [54].

The friar Glassberger learned, in his far away monastery, that Alexander VI and three cardinals had died of poison on the 19th (sic) of August [55].

Daru has found of late that the Pope and his son, he says, had intended to poison four cardinals [56].

Elsewhere are given the names of nine cardinals destined to death by Valentine [57].

Mariana relates that Cesar de Borgia had prepared the wine for several cardinals, his enemies; and so also do Jovius and Peter Martyr [58].

Panvinius asserts that the Pope had resolved to take the life of every opulent prelate, and of a number of cardinals richer than others [59].

52. Villari, Dispac., vol. III, p. 5.
53. Ubi supra.
54. Ubi supra.
55. Chronica, p. 532.
56. Hist. de la république de Venise, t. IV, p. 103.
57. Ap. Archiv. Stor. Lombardo, an. II, p. 13.
58. Ubi supra.
59. Alexander VI, p. 341.

We might extend this list of writers and further show their suspicious divergence in the number of persons, who were to be sacrificed to the pretended rapacity of the Pontiff or of the captain of his army ; but we should not neglect to observe the mistake they made when selecting Adrian of Corneto, to enrich them by his death. Whether that cardinal afterwards grew wealthy, we do not know ; but we know that from the 18th of October, 1500, until the 16th of February, 1501, when he was named bishop of Hereford, in England, he, simply a cleric of the diocese of Corneto, was earning his daily bread, by performing the duties of a papal secretary and treasurer at the pontifical court [60].

The death of pope Alexander VI from poison seems to be sufficiently improbable, if we consider the circumstances with which it is told ; but it has been rendered more incredible still, by the addition of supernatural embellishments. Moroni relates [61] that the Pontiff, noticing at the villa of cardinal Adrian, that he had forgotten to take along the Blessed Sacrament in its golden pyx or box, gave the keys of his apartments to his private chamberlain, Gianpietro Caraffa, ordering him to bring the Sacred Host. When Caraffa entered the Pontiff's room, he thought he saw rays of light darting forth from the holy pyx, on the floor before him the Pope lying dead, and the Sacred College of Cardinals in the act of choosing a new Pontiff ! Struck with awe, he fell to the bottom himself and was carried out by papal servants. Gordon [62] asserts that he has read of this fact in the writings of several authors. He adds, however, that he leaves to more credulous people to believe the apparitions.

The great historian, Gregorovius [63] spends his time and ink,

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60. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI Secret., an. VIII ad XI, Lib. II, Regest. 877, f° 172vo, and Alex. VI. Secret., an. VIII ad XI, Lib. II, Regest. 868, f° 62.

61. Dizionario, Art. Palo IV.
62. Alexandre VI, t. II, p. 296.
63. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 296.

to copy and translate a letter of the marquis of Mantua to his wife, telling a conversation of the dying Pope with the devil, who appeared in the shape of a monkey, as Sanuto [64] states, to whom he had promised his soul, on the condition that the devil should procure for him the tiara, and let him wear it twelve, " zwölf, dodeci, " years [65]. Gregorovius says that the devil had fulfilled his part of the bargain and thrown in four days ; but, in fact, the old deceiver was cheating the Pope out of a whole year's life. The famous historian reports that even a black dog was seen restlessly roaming about in St. Peter's basilica, at the time of the Pope's burial [66].

All such gossip is cheap and ridiculous enough. Bembo, Jovius and Guicciardini were too clever to repeat it ; yet it would form an appropriate setting for their sober fiction.

Later historians, speaking of this subject, have naturally felt the need of testing the credibility of their predecessor's surprising narratives. They have come to various conclusions. We have noticed already that Voltaire scoffs at the idea of the Pope and Cesar de Borgia drinking the poisoned wine which they had prepared for others, at Cesar's bath in the bowels of a mule, to neutralize the poison which he had taken. He produces other objections.

Daru, however, undertakes [67] to defend Guicciardini and Mariana against the biting strictures of the philosophist. He mentions a number of renegade writers, such as Thomas Thomasi, Gordon, Bayle and Gregorio Leti, who have admitted the tale, which he thinks not to be sufficiently improbable to preclude all belief; although he agrees that Voltaire's objection, taken from the report of the Pontiff's sickness and death, is more conclusive than the others.

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64. Diar., t. V, p. 124.
65. As if the devil could direct a papal election and dispose at will of a man's life and death.
66. Ibid., p. 294.
67. Hist. de la République de Venise, t. IV, pp. 103, seq.

It is no wonder, Ranke says [68], if doubt be expressed about the death of Alexander from poison, as it is related by Guicciardini. In fact, Burchard, he adds, whose Diary tells every small thing, utters not a word of poison, but reports a regular course of illness, fever, heavy fever, application of remedies and death. The historian absolutely rejects the statement, that the Pontiff was suddenly carried, for dead, to the palace and died the next day ; but the ugly appearance of the corpse, the coincident sickness of Cesar de Borgia and the vast extension of the rumor of poisoning convince him, that the story of Alexander's death from poison will certainly remain to be considered as trustful, " zwar gewisz bleiben ".

Gregorovius has gathered the reports of many contemporary historians. Perhaps his prejudice prevented him from seeing their errors ; yet, he has the courage to acknowledge that their statements are not proved to be true [69]. In his Lucrezia Borgia he asserts [70] that Alexander and Cesar became ill the same day, and it has been both affirmed and denied, he says, that they were poisoned together. But that is a mistake, important just here ; since the Pontiff was overtaken by sickness on the 10th of August, and Cesar de Borgia, the following day, the 11th [71]. How could they, therefore, be supposed to have taken poison at the same time ? Gregorovius continues to state that many reasons can be offered as well for as against the alleged fact, which, consequently, remains undecided. This admission is as much as could be expected from him.

The conclusion of William Roscoe is as follows : Documents recently produced, and a more dispassionate inquiry, afford sufficient reason to conclude that the death of the

68. Zur Kritik, s. 29.
69. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 495-499, ap. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 120, n. 2.
70. Bd. I, s. 291.
71. Archivio Fiorentino, Lettere dei Dieci, 1503, f° 63, ap. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 115, n. 1.

pontiff was not occasioned by poison, but was the effect of a fever, which in a few days hurried him to the grave [72].

So do all the latest historians of any reputation, almost without an exception, reject as an exploded absurdity, the tale of pope Alexander's death from poison, although they have oft and bitterly misrepresented his actions and manner of life. H. de l'Epinois says [73] : Suspicions of poison may have arisen from the rapid decomposition of the corpse, quite natural in the month of August ; but the dispatches of Giustinian have given the last stroke to all those imaginary stories of pretended poisonings.

According to Alvisi [74], the Pontiff became ill on the 10th of August, on the 13th the news spread in Rome that his sickness was very serious, on the 15th intermittent fever set in, physicians applied remedies and the Pope died the 18th.

Nemec considers it to be an established fact that Alexander VI died a natural death, namely, from fever [75].

von Reumont writes [76] : The story of Alexander's death from poison is, like many more, invented.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica makes [77] the following remarks : Every one knows the story of the supper given to the ten cardinals in the villa, and the fatal exchange of the poisoned flask. This picturesque tale is almost certainly a fiction. An attempt to destroy ten cardinals at once is inconceivable ; it would be easier to believe cardinal Castellesi's assertion that he was to have been the victim, as his sickness at the time is confirmed from an independent source. But his character does not stand high, and the symptoms of his disorder, as described by himself, differ totally from Alexander's, which were those of an ordinary Roman fever.

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72. The Life of Leo X, vol. I, p 194.
73. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 421.
74. Cesare Borgia, p. 402.
75. Papst Alexander VI, s. 218.
76. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 268.
77. Art. Alexander VI.

von Pastor [78] relates that Caro and Lamansky pretend that Alexander VI was poisoned by cardinal Adrian of Corneto, who had, they say, an understanding with the republic of Venice ; but he names, as casting aside the whole story of poison, all the following historians not already mentioned : Marini, Novaes, Aschbach, Jorry, Revue historique ; Wetzer und Welte, Kirchenlexicon ; Historisches Jahrbuch ; Villari and Saltini, in Archivio Storico Italiano, ser. 3, XXVI ; Villari, in Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian ; Machiavelli, Acton ; Maury, in Revue Historique, XIII ; Gebhart, in Revue des deux Mondes ; cardinal Hergenroether, Cipolla, Creighton and Garnet, in English Historical Review, IX, pp. 335-339. Pastor himself not only rejects the report of Bembo, Guicciardini and the like, but proves with the notes of a learned physician, that, under the well-known circumstances of time, the death of pope Alexander VI from poison was simply impossible [79].

Nor are these later critical historians the only ones to deny the disgraceful story. Already Raynaldi attributes it " to the calumnies with which his enemies have burdened the memory of the Pontiff ". He remarks that the Pope did not die a sudden death, but died of a fever, which, continuous at first, became tertian or malignant afterwards, caused by the impurity of the air, and lasting seven days, at it is evident, he says, from manuscript diaries, most worthy of belief [80]. Before him, Victorelli comments on the statement of Ciaconius, that pope Alexander VI died, an old man, on the 18th of August, by adding : " from poison, if we should believe Panvinius " ; but cardinal Aegidius utters not a word of poison [81].

Muratori knew of the dispatches of Bertrand Costabili to

78. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 471, footn. 2.
79. Ibid., s. 472, n. 1.
80. Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1503, n. XI.
81. Ciaconius, Vitae Roman. Pontificum, p. 151.

the duke of Ferrara, and of the Florentine Nicholas Buoncane, which prove, he says, that the Pontiff, a very old man, was transferred from this to the future life by a fever-tierce, very common in Rome, when the air is corrupted in the hot days of summer [82].

Gilles heard in France of the demise of the Pontiff, but nothing of the poison [83].

Raphael of Volterra writes : " While Alexander promised to himself a longer life, he was suddenly overtaken by a sickness which carried him off in a few days. A rumor of uncertain origin pretends that a poisoned supper was the cause; especially since Cesar de Borgia and cardinal Adrian, who had partaken of the supper, were affected by almost a like disorder [84].

Sigismondo dei Conti reported the rumor of pope Alexander's death from poison ; but previously stated, as from himself, that the Pontiff was overtaken by fever from which he did not recuperate. He looked at the funeral of his nephew, William Raymond de Borgia, he says, and the following night, he took a slight fever, that did not seem to forebode death : to which, however, he succumbed the eighth day, namely, the 18th of August, 1503 [85].

A circular letter to the German princes written probably by the cardinal of Gurck, and dated August 31, 1503, distinctly mentioned fever as the cause of the Pope's hasty demise " Ex hoc seculo horrenda febrium incensione absorbtum " [86].

At the time of the sickness of the Pontiff there were in Rome, not Bembo, Guicciardini or Jovius, nor any of the

82. Antiquitates Estenses, vol. II, p. 275.
83. Annales et Croniques de France, vol. II, f° 121.
84. Ap. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1503, n. X.
85. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 267.
86. Symonds, Renaissance in Italy, p. 392.

poison-story tellers, but three men of learning and intelligence : John Burchard, Bertrand Costabili and Anthony Giustinian. These three are all the more reliable since their duties, of papal master of ceremonies and of ambassadors accredited at the Roman Court, brought them continually in contact with the Pope, and because the second of them and particularly the third were so disposed, that they would not have failed to investigate the Pontiff's demise, and to report anything that might possibly depreciate him. Now, not one of these eyewitnesses has in any way alluded to the question of poison or poisoning ; but they all, uniformly, relate the sickness and natural death of pope Alexander VI. The contemporary Roman ambassadors, Beltrando Costabili of Ferrara and Giovanni Lucido Cataneo of Mantua wrote in a similar way to their masters ; the latter stated on the 19th of August, 1503, that in Rome there was no suspicion of poison at all [87].

ARTICLE IV. — HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S ILLNESS AND DEATH.

For centuries past the climate of Rome has been and is yet intensely hot and very insalubrious during the middle of summer, when almost all offices are closed and her citizens, who can afford the means, flee to the mountains or to the seashores from the ravages of the " Roman fever ". It is a remarkable fact that, of the five immediate predecessors of pope Alexander VI, three : Calixtus III, Pius II and Sixtus IV died in the month of August, and two : Paul II and Innocent VIII passed away at the end of July.

The year 1503 made no exception to the rule. Indeed, the malignant fever had, this year, assumed the appearance of a contagious disease, that laid low many a man prominent in

87. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 470, 842, 843.

the City. Alexander Bracci, the Florentine ambassador, had died of fever the 6th of July, and his successor, Anthony Zeno, could send no dispatches to his Seigniory, because he was confined to his residence by sickness [88]. Francesco Fortucci, his secretary, wrote to Florence on the 7th of July, that many in Rome were ill with fever, and that quite a number died of it ; again, on the 20th, that he thanked the Ten for relieving him, because he was frightened at the great number who in Rome died of a fever, that was a like pestilence. On the 22d he wrote anew, that the archbishop of Florence had a high fever and was in danger of death. Bertrand Costabili, the Roman envoy from Ferrara, wrote, on the 14th of August, to the duke Ercole, that it is no wonder if the Pontiff and Cesar de Borgia were ill, because all men of importance at the Roman court were sick, especially those staying at the palace, in consequence of the bad air [89]. Anthony Zeno was able at last to inform the Florentines, on the 17th of August, that the conditions of the City were most disagreeable, because of the great number of sick people and of the excessive heat [90].

Pope Alexander VI was not immune any more than the members of his court. Already in the beginning of July he was unwell. On the 11th of that month, Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador in Rome, found him lying on his bed fully dressed. The Pontiff received him with cheerful mien, but told him that, since three days he was incommoded by somewhat of a flux, yet he hoped that it would stop from now on. The following day his disorder still continued, but he made light of it, and went out in the open. On the 14th he felt an unnatural fatigue [91]. He was evidently under the influence of the heat and contaminated air.

88. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, p. 121, n. and p. 115, n.
89. Ap. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 459.
90. Id. ibid., p. 99, n.
91. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 66, 68.

On the 1st of August, he was grieved to hear that his nephew, the cardinal of Monreale, Giovanni de Borgia the elder, had died of fever.

Seeking some mental and bodily refreshment, he accepted an invitation to take supper, with Cesar de Borgia and other persons, on the 5th of August, at the villa of cardinal Castellesi, where he remained until night, exposed to the evening breezes, that are especially pernicious, and the effect of which was felt by all the guests, as Giustinian says [92].

The Pontiff did not complain of any bodily ailment, but was bitterly afflicted again on hearing of the death of his other nephew, William Raymund de Borgia, the captain of his palace guard, whose funeral train he saw pass by, on the 9th [93].

The whole of the following night he was somewhat feverish. On the 10th of August, he summoned his ordinary physician, Bernard Buongiovanni, bishop of Venosa, who was himself unwell at his home, and another doctor, Scipione, of the neighboring country. The disorder was found to be slight, and caused no alarm ; yet, the physicians were retained within the palace [94].

On the morning of Saturday, the 12th, the Pontiff did not feel well [95]. After dinner he had a spell of vomiting, threw up the nourishment which he had taken, together with bile of the color of an orange [96], and at vespertime a regular fever set in, which lasted the whole night. " Cesar was also in bed with fever at the time ", and Anthony Giustinian makes the

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92. Giustinian wrote to Venice on the 13th : Fo ozi otto di, andornò a cena ad una vigna del reverendissimo Adriano e stettero fin a notte, dove intravennero etiam altre persone, e tutte se ne hanno resentito.

93. Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 267.

94. Costabili, ap. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 459, and p. 115, n. : The Ten of Florence had learned that the Pope had become ill on the 10th ; Sigismondo dei Conti, ubi supra.

95. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 238.

96. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 107, 459.

remark, that " the cause of sickness of both was that, at a supper which they took, eight days before, at the villa of cardinal Adriano, they stayed out until night ". The night air of the hot season is still the main cause of Roman fever [97].

On the 13th, early in the morning, he was bled, to weaken the fever. Burchard asserts that thirteen ounces of blood were extracted from his vein ; Giustinian mentions ten ounces, which he considers as extraordinary, when taking into account the Pontiff's great age; Costabili reduces the bloodletting to nine ounces [98]. The result was favorable, for, although the fever continued, it was not so strong as the previous day, the Pope let some cardinals play cards the whole day in his presence, and he slept well the following night [99]. The doors of the papal apartments were locked and no one was admitted, but this precaution was the cause that a rumor of the gravity of the sickness spread in the City [100].

On the 14th, the fever still continued, but less severe than it had been before ; yet the Pontiff's vein was opened a second time [101].

The greatest secrecy was observed at the Vatican, no physicians, no attendants and no barbers were permitted to leave the palace ; and it seems that, for a couple of days, little or no information about the Pope's condition reached either Burchard or Giustinian, who could only report that the fever was lasting. The ambassador of Ferrera wrote, however, on the 14th of August, saying that today a new access of sickness, similar to that of last Saturday, took place about

97. Idem, ibid.; Burchard, ubi supra.

98. Respectively, Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 238 ; Villari, ibid., p. 108 and 459.

99. Costabili ap. Villari, ubi supra, p. 459 ; Giustinian, ibid., p. 108.

100. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 107 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 402.

101. Villari, ibid., p. 108. Burchard says that the bleeding took place the 15th.

two o'clock after noon. The whole court was in great anxiety, and the Pontiff's illness was the only theme of conversation [102]. Indeed, a malignant tertian fever manifested itself on the 15th [103].

The 17th of August, drugs were administered early in the morning, but they did not check the violence of the fever [104]; and cardinal Caraffa showed to Giustinian a bulletin of one of the attending physicians, announcing that the fever was continuous and acute, and that all their hope was in a beneficial effect of the medecine given that day. All night long the inmates of the palace were in a state of great anxiety [105].

Giustinian wrote home, that early in the morning of the 18th, the bishop of Venosa came weeping from the patient's room, and said to a few of his attendants that the danger was great. He was very sorry that the medicine administered the previous day, had failed to procure His Holiness the relief that it should have given [106].

The Pope seems to have borne his illness with patience, and to have passed the days of his suffering in holy recollection, for he admitted to his room only his physicians, three or four intimate palace cardinals and his vicar general and confessor, the bishop of Carinola [107], who never left him for a moment [108]. He also abstained from all his usual labors on

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102. Costabili, ap. Villari, ubi supra, p. 459.

103. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 402.

104. Villari, ibid., p. 113.

105. Ibidem.

106. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 115, 116.

107. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 238, gives the name as " Petro, episcopo Calmensi " but Thuasne, ibid., n. 2, justly thinks that it should be " Calensis ", from Calenum, Carinola, a diocese of the province of Capua, as Giustinian gives the name, Disp. vol. II, p. 117. " Calmensis " is a mistake of a copyist, who changed " en " into " m ". Raynaldi also gives the baptismal name of Peter; and, in fact, the name of the bishop of Carinola was at the time Peter Gamboa, while the bishop of Culm, " Culmensis ", was Nicholas Krapitz : Villari, Disp. Vol. II, p. 117, n.

108. Villari, ibid., pp. 117, 118.

matters spiritual and temporal, not even mentioning once the names of Cesar or of Lucretia de Borgia [109].

On Friday, the 18th, the Pontiff made his confession to the bishop of Carinola, who then said Holy Mass in the sickroom, and after his own communion, administered the Holy Viaticum to the Pope sitting up in his bed, in the presence of the cardinals of the palace : James Serra, Francis de Borgia, James Casanova, and those of Monreale and of Constantinople [110].

About noon, the Pope grew worse [111], and at vesper time the bishop of Carinola gave him Extreme Unction [112]. He then was fast growing weaker and finally breathed his last, towards evening of the 18th of August, 1503 [113], in the presence of his datary and of the bishop of Carinola—and Burchard adds, on the same page 239 of Thuasne's edition of the Diary, in the presence of " Papae parafrenariis ", which Gregorovius translates with " Stallmeister ", or foreman of the papal stables.

The cause of the Pope's death was the overheated and corrupt air, generating the malignant, epidemic fever, often called the " Malaria ", at the present, which took so many

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109. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 239.

110. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 238 ; Villari, Disp. Vol. II, p. 115: Sigismondo dei Conti, Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 267. Beltrando Costabili, envoy of Ferrara, and Giovanni Lucido Cataneo, the one of Mantua, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 842, 843.

111. Villari, Dispacci, p. 117 ; Burchard, ubi supra, p. 239.

112. The bishop of Gallipoli made the following statement in his sermon to the electors of pope Pius III (English Histor. Review, t. VII, p. 311) : " When at last, the Pope was suffering from a very severe sickness, he spontaneously requested, one after another, each of the last sacraments. He first made a very careful confession of his sins, with a contrite heart and was affected even to the shedding of tears, I am told ; then he received in Communion the most Sacred Body, and Extreme Unction was administered to him ".

113. Burchard, ibid.; Villari, ubi supra, p. 120 ; Liber Confraternitatis B. Mariae de Anima de Urbe, f° 13.

lives at that time [114], as Giustinian describes in several dispatches ; yet in his second letter of the 18th of August, 1503, he reports the opinion of the physician, Scipio, who thought that the illness had been brought on by apoplexy.

ARTICLE V. — THE POPE'S BURIAL AND FUNERAL.

Late in the evening of the 18th of August, the corpse dressed in pontifical robes, was carried to the hall of the Parrot, where it remained over night, between two torches. The following morning it was taken to the greater palace chapel. Here the clergy of the City, secular and regular, had gathered to solemnly convey the deceased Pontiff to St. Peter's basilica, There walked in procession the friars of St. Onophrius, the Minims, the Franciscans, the Augustinians, the Carmelites and the Dominican monks. Then came the clergy of St. Peter's and the camerarius of the Roman clergy in stole and cope, followed by a few priests. A hundred and forty torches were carried, mainly by the clergy and beneficiaries of the basilica. After them came the servants and attendants of the Pope, who marched in front of the bier, which had a guard of clergymen on both sides, and was borne by some poor people, six canons of St. Peter's holding the pall. They were followed by the bishops of Zamora, of Carinola, of Narni and of Sessa, who went to the middle of St. Peter's basilica, where the corpse was deposited, under the singing of the " Libera " [115]. Thus were the remains of pope Alexander VI moved to his hast resting place, with great funerary pomp, as it is becoming a Sovereign Pontiff, Stella says [116].

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114. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 115, n.; Archiv. Stor. Lombardo, an. II, p. 10 ; English Histor. Review, t. VII, p. 311 : Caledonius says : " Quatriduana febris e medio abstulit ".

115. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 240, 241.

116. Ap. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro, vol. III, p. 531.

After a disturbance, caused by a few soldiers, who robbed some of the torches, the body was placed uncovered within the iron grate of the Sanctuary, between four burning torches, in such a manner that the feet could be touched by the people, who came to pay him their last respects. But, as fermentation, swelling and decomposition rapidly disfigured the corpse, a cloth of tapestry was extended over it ; and at night, it was lowered, in the presence of two cardinals dwelling in the Vatican palace, into a beautiful and magnificent sepulcher, at the left side of the altar of the chapel of Our Lady of Fever, and adjoining the grave of pope Calixtus III [117].

A quite different report of the Pontiff's funeral is part of a letter of the marquis of Mantua, who had been giving asylum and protection to the petty tyrants, expelled because of their misdeeds, from their dominions in the Pontifical States. The letter, published as an historical document by Gregorovius [118], is a combination of ludicrous superstition and of manifest lies, whose sole object is hatred and assault on a just Suzerain now defenseless in his grave. The same must be said of disgraceful epitaphs [119], composed by Renaissance poets, who were hired by the revengeful nobility. The marquis wrote to his wife : " The Pope was carried to his grave without much honor. A half-crazy fellow dragged him with a rope fastened to his foot, from the bier to the place of his burial, for no one could be found willing to touch him. He received a most miserable sepulcher. "

This last detraction was repeated by Ciaconius who says [120] that this grave was a vile monument of brick. As if it were merely to correct him, Oldoinus, his annotator, gives us to

117. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 243 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 125 ; P. Laderchi, Opuscula, t. I, fo 343vo.

118. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 140.

119. One of which has been slipped into Burchard's Diary, t. III, p. 243.

120. Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 151.

understand that the grave of pope Alexander VI must have been decked with a monument of art and real beauty, when he remarks that the Pontiff's sepulchral statue is still lying in St. Peter's crypt, bearing the notice : " Alexandri Papae VI effigies marmorea " [121]. Dionysius's plate XLVII is a representation of the ancient marble sarcophagus, covered with a slab of marble about six feet, " palmos VIII ", long, chiseled into a high-relief statue of that Pontiff, in a recumbent posture, and wearing the cassock, gloves and cope, and having his head adorned with the triple crown. These remains of his former sepulcher can be found at the end of the ancient vault under St. Peter's basilica, towards the East [122].

Three Roman prelates, the Monsignori De Waal, Wilpert and Kirsch, told us that they had lately seen the marble sarcophagus and statue of pope Alexander VI with his name engraved on it, at the end of the middle alley of the " Grotte Vecchie " of St. Peter's [123].

While, on the 19th of August, the deceased Pontiff was carried from the palace and deposited in St. Peter's, the Sacred College held, under the presidency of their dean, cardinal Caraffa, a reunion in the Dominican church of the Minerva, doubtful as they were of the intentions of Cesar de Borgia, who was a convalescent at the Vatican ; and of his turbulent soldiery, that were holding the whole Borgo or Leonine city [124]. Every day they held their consultations in the same church, until, on the 23d and following days, they came together at the residence of cardinal Caraffa. On the 21st, they made an offer of agreement with Cesar de Borgia,

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121. Ibid., p. 164; and the following page has the picture of it.

122. Dionysius, Sacra Vaticanae basilicae Monumenta, p. 120 ; Cancellieri, De Secretariis Basil. Vatic., vol. III, p. 1277 ; Torrigio, Le Sacre Grotte, p. 345.

123. Cfr. Visconti, Città e Famiglie, vol. I, p. 343.

124. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 122.

who answered with great humility that he was ready to do their bidding and to take the oath of fidelity to the Sacred College ; and, the next day, he was confirmed in his office of Captain General of the army of the Roman church [125].

Provisions were also to be made to defray the expenses of the obsequies of the late Pontiff and of the election of his successor ; for the papal treasury was found to be empty. The archbishop, therefore, of Ragusa, governor of the City, and the bishop of Massa, private treasurer of the Pope, and the presidents and clerics of the Pontifical Camera entered, on the 22d of August, 1503, into a notarial contract with the merchants and bankers de Spannochiis and de Ghinutiis, to borrow a sum, up to the amount of fifteen thousand gold ducats, to be principally spent in the purchase of cloth and draperies for the catafalque and for the cells of the conclave. As security, the lenders required all the precious jewels found in the apostolic palace, all the income of the treasury and the taxes on salt in the Marches, which they held as depositors [126]. The bargain was ratified by the assembled cardinals.

On the 31st of August, the Sacred College finally succeeded in removing from Rome Cesar de Borgia and all his troops, as also those of the Colonna barons ; and received the promise that the Orsini, the Spanish and the French troops should not enter the City. Having thus secured full liberty for the election of a new Pope, they decided, in the last congregation, on the 3d of September, to commence the nine days' funeral of the deceased Pontiff, on Monday, the 4th [127].

The first day, Holy Mass was celebrated, in the presence of twenty cardinals, by His Eminence of St. Praxedis, and the panegyric was delivered by the prothonotary Octavian Arcim-

125. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 244-246.

126. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 34, no. 16, f° 58.

127. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 254-257.

bold. The last obsequies took place the 12th of September, with nineteen cardinals present [128].

These were perhaps the last public and solemn rites performed for the repose of the soul of pope Alexander VI ; but the Pontiff, well knowing that the Holy Sacrifice is the most efficacious means to accelerate the possession of heavenly bliss for those dying in grace with God, had, in due time, taken care that Holy Mass should frequently be offered up for his soul. He had, indeed, endowed the hospice of St. James of the Spaniards with the property of a palace in Rome, six hundred ducats and a sufficient annual provision of salt for the use of its chaplains, subject to the charge of saying a Holy Mass for him on each of the four Saturdays of each month, and of reciting one nocturn of the Office for the dead, on the first Sunday of each month, forever [129].

ARTICLE VI. — TRANSLATIONS OF POPE ALEXANDER'S REMAINS.

The body of pope Alexander VI did not remain undisturbed in the place where it was interred at first. In the year 1586, the graves of popes Calixtus III and Alexander VI were destroyed by the machinery used in moving the obelisk from the west side of the old basilica, to adorn St. Peter's square ; and little remained of those beautiful funeral monuments. John Baptist Vives, a prothonotary apostolic of Valencia in Spain, took care that the remains of the two Spanish Popes should be taken up, and again be decently buried at another spot of the same church, in one and the same marble grave [130], marked with a slab of marble, that bore the inscription :

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128. Ibid., pp. 257-263.
129. See Document 203.
130. Cancellieri, De Secretariis Basilicae Vatic., t. III, p. 1277, proves at length that the two Popes were not, before this time, buried together but close to each other.

" Ossa Callisti III Et Alexandri VI e gente Borgia, summorum Pontificum. "

At the demolition of the old venerable basilica, to make room for the grand modern St. Peter's, the same prelate Vives transferred, on the 19th of October, 1605, the leaden box containing the revered bones of both Pontiffs to the end of the middle alley of the older St. Peter's crypt, in front of the chapel of Sixtus IV, where the remains of several other former Pontiffs were also confided to earth again [131]. To this spot was carried what was worth preserving of their original sepulchers.

On the 26th of January, 1610, the prothonotary John Baptist Vives received the permission of pope Paul V, to transfer once more, namely, from St. Peter's basilica, to the Spanish church of Santa Maria in Monserrato, the bodily remains of the popes Calixtus III and Alexander VI of happy memory. Thereupon the recent grave was opened, the relics in their box were officially viewed on the 30th, and, in the evening of the same day, solemnly conveyed to Santa Maria in Monserrato. Here they were left in the care of the priors of the church, who promised to preserve them with all due respect [132].

Hostile prejudice has directed Gregorovius, in spite of the best historical authorities and documents, to calumniate two Roman Pontiffs, when he wrote [133] that " no grave stone was ever erected, nor grave dug [134] for Alexander VI, nor were his remains allowed to rest in the grave of Calixtus III ; for Julius II, the bitter enemy of the Borgias ordered them removed from the Vatican grottoes (sic) to the church of St. James of the Spaniards " !

131. Rome, Bibl. Vallicellana, Ms. Cod. H. 71 ; P. Laderchi, Opuscula, t. I, f° 343.

132. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. XXXIV, 50, f° 235 : Notarial acts relating to the translation. Cfr. Dionysius, Sacra Basilicæ Vatic. Monumenta, p. 120 ; Cancellieri, De Secretariis Basil. Vatic., t. III, p. 1276, seq. ; Torrigio, Le Sacre Grotte, p. 345.

133. Le Tombe dei Papi, p. 111.

134. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 663.

Already about the middle of the sixteenth century, a project was on foot to erect to the memory of pope Alexander VI a funeral monument in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, of which he, when a cardinal, had been the archpriest; and which, as a Pope, he had restored and artistically decorated. Pope Pius IV had even issued, on the 28th of September, 1561, a brief in favor of the design [135]; but the undertaking miscarried ; and, a century later, Oldoinus [136] wrote that the remains of Alexander VI, and those of his uncle, Calixtus III were, in the vestry of St. Mary in Monteserrato, still in expectation of an ornament over their grave. At last, in the year 1881, a decent monument to their memory was cemented into the church wall of Santa Maria in Monserrato, at the first chapel to the right from the main entrance. It is an ornamented white marble slab of about four feet wide, and six feet high ; in the middle of which have been chiseled in low relief the busts of the two Pontiffs. Below are their coats of arms and the inscriptions : " Calixtus III and Alexander VI "; so, however, that the name of Alexander VI is placed under the likeness of Calixtus III, and, reversely, the name of Calixtus III, under the picture of Alexander VI. The upper portion of the stone is occupied by the arms of the kingdom of Valencia : a tower in the upper right and lower left, and a rampant lion in the other quarters of the field.

The priors of Santa Maria in Monserrato or their successors were not faithful to their promise of decently preserving the remains of the two Popes. Gregorovius himself was scandalized at the manner in which these relics were kept : above the ground, in a room adjoining the vestry, in a wooden box without a fastened lid ! The sealed leaden casket of St. Peter's grotto had disappeared with its Latin inscription, when we

135. Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, t. XIV, p. 11 and t. XVIII, p. 88.

136. Add. ad Ciaconium, Vitae Roman. Pontiff., p. 162.

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saw the dry bones of the Spanish Pontiffs, mixed together with fragments of their craniums and a few small remnants of a black church vestment with some golden threads, in a wooden box, in which there was a paper notice in Spanish : " Los guesos de dos Papas estan en esta caseta y son Calisto y Alexandro VI° y eran Españoles ", the bones of two Popes are in this chest, and they are Calixtus and Alexander VI and they were Spaniards.

Answering to our unfavorable remarks, Monsignor José Benavides, rector of the church, told us that he was preparing to bury the respectable remains in a small vault beneath the chapel of St. James, under their monument in the church. In fact, on the 21st of August, 1889, with the consent of pope Leo XIII and the permission of his Vicar General, cardinal Parocchi, Monsignor Benavides executed his worthy design, and religiously transferred the relics of the two Popes to their new becoming repository, where they may Rest In Peace [137] !

137. Boletin de la Real Academy de la Historia, t. XVIII, p. 159, seq.

CHAPTER IV.

The exiled nobility recover their possessions.

The storm of revolt and invasion that broke loose against the dominions of the Roman Church, immediately after the death of pope Alexander VI, was, indeed, a grand homage to the Pontiff's past diplomacy and to the power which he had acquired during the eleven years of his reign. He had put an end to, and chastised, the disloyalty of two dozen of his practically independent feudatories, that is, of the Roman barons and of the princely governors of Pontifical cities and territories, to whom he had demonstrated that he was not only their legitimate, but also their actual Sovereign. The adjoining republics of Florence and of Venice, although envious of his successes and harboring his overt enemies, endeavored to keep up a friendly intercourse with him; and, restraining their ambition, ventured not to molest any of his possessions. But no sooner was it heralded that the Pope was dead, and the Pontifical States were without a defender, than all of the fallen nobility lifted their heads again and took up arms to recover their former dominions, while Florence and Venice lent them assistance [1], and invaded, for their own profit, other territories directly subject to the Roman Pontiffs.

Already on the day that pope Alexander VI was buried, Cesar de Borgia offered to the Colonna barons the restitution of all their former cities and territories, and gave them the countersigns of their fortified places [2], in the hope that, having never offended them personally, he might secure their help against the Orsini. In the evening of the 22[d] of August,

1. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 466.

2. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 245, n.

Prosper Colonna entered the City at the head of a hundred cavalrymen, and was solemnly received by five cardinals and the partisans of the Colonna family [3]. As in the conclave for the election of the Pontiff's successor the majority of the cardinals were of Italian nobility, it was there agreed that the next Pope should, in consideration of cardinal Colonna, restore all the members of his house, cleric and lay ; so also the Orsini, the Savelli, the Conti and all the other Roman barons, to their estates, good name, honors and privileges ; remit all their penalties and wipe out all their crimes, " et crimina abolebo " [4].

On the 21st of August, the Orsini had also retaken all the cities which they had lately lost [5] ; and on the 23d, towards night, Ludovicus of Pitigliano and Fabius Orsini entered Rome with a body of two hundred cavalry and of a thousand men on foot. They killed a number of Spaniards and devastated a hundred of their houses ; yet, at the request of the Sacred College, they left the following day, as also did the Colonna [6].

As soon as the death of pope Alexander VI became known, Bartholomew d'Alviano, a prominent member of the Orsini family, went to Bologna, and there formed a league with Giovanni Sforza, Pandolfo Malatesta and the Vitelli, for the recuperation of their states. Well received by the lord Giovanni Bentivoglio, they gathered their first troops in Bologna itself and its territory [7].

Guidobaldo di Montefeltro had, as we noticed before, fled to Venice at the approach of Cesar de Borgia to Urbino, and had been admitted among the nobility of the Republic. When

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3. Burchard, ibid., p. 247.
4. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Politicorum Varia, vol. XX, f° 166.
5. Burchard, ubi supra, pp. 245, n., 450 ; Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 451.
6. Burchard, ubi supra, pp. 248, 249 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 148.
7. Muzzi, ubi supra.

the news of the Pontiff's demise was flashed to Venice across his former duchy, his friends started at once, on the 22d of August, an insurrection against the fallen authority of the Church, and Guidobaldo, with the approval of the Venetian Seigniory, and what soldiers he could gather with their assistance, went forth to reconquer his State. The papal officials, losing all confidence, surrendered or fled ; and the old duke entered the fortified town of San Leo on the 24th, other territories of the duchy on the 27th, and his ancient capital on the 28th of August, 1503 [8]. Soon after, he was, as a condottiere, taken in the pay of the Venetians, and helped them, by word and deed, to rob the Pontifical States of several cities and their districts [9]. On the 19th of October, he was chosen as the head of a new confederacy, by the lords of Piombino, Citta di Castello, Perugia, Camerino, Senigallia, Pesaro and Rimini, to do all possible damage to Cesar de Borgia in his possessions in Romagna [10]. A relative of pope Julius II, he was, in the year 1504, elevated by this Pontiff to the important office of Captain General of the Church.

When, on the 19th of August, it was learned in Camerino that pope Alexander VI had died, the Spanish governor, Perez, although holding the fortress and a garrison of three hundred men on foot, did not feel secure and fled to Matelica, and from there, later on, into Romagna. Giovanni Maria Varano expelled by the duke of Valentinois, was, indeed, recalled by the Camertines and hastily returned to Camerino; where he was, in the absence of any opposition, received, on the 29th of August, with various demonstrations either of joy or of submission. Many citizens were arrested as suspects

8. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 466 ; Bibl. Vatic., Urbinat., Cod. 904, f° 27vo.

9. Villari, ubi supra, and second half of vol. II passim.

10. Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, vol. II, p. 124 ; Lilii, Dell' Historia di Camerino, p. 269.

and sent to Urbino, while others were confined in the castle of Sentino and afterwards put to death. An edict was published, that all, who had left with the Spaniards, were to return within three days, under pain of losing their possessions and their lives. At the end of the short term, their goods were confiscated and distributed among the courtiers of the new prince. Giovanni Maria's revengeful cruelty increased yet, after he was legally restored by pope Pius III and confirmed by Julius II [11].

During the time that the Sacred College celebrated the funerals of the late Pope, the widow of Giovanni della Rovere and her son, Francesco Maria, reentered Senigallia; the Vitelli returned to Citta di Castello, and, with the aid of Florence, the old Jacopo d'Appiano reconquered Piombino [12]. Giovanni Sforza likewise reentered the city of Pesaro, on the 3d of September, and, on the 2d of October, the fortress surrendered to him, on the condition that the seventy Spaniards and Germans of the garrison should be free to depart with all their belongings [13].

Gianpaolo Baglione, together with Bartholomew d'Alviano, went from Bologna to Perugia, and tried to make an agreement with the papal governor, Carlo Baglione, and the Oddi, to be admitted into the city ; but, failing in this, he resorted to force ; and, on the 9th of September, succeeded in capturing one of the gates, entered with all his nearest relatives, drove out his opponents and took fearful revenge [14].

One of the first exiled princes to reclaim his former posses-

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11. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 451 ; Lilii, Dell' Hist. di Camerino, p. 269 ; Nardi, Istorie di Fiorenze, vol. I, p. 311.

12. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 134vo ; Villari, Dispacci, Vol. II, p. 174 ; Nardi, Istor. di Firenze, vol. I, p. 311 ; Ammirato, Ist. Fiorent., t. V, p. 469.

13. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 451 ; Bibl. Vatic., Urbin. Cod. 904, fo 14vo.

14. Villari, Dispacci, Vol II, p. 188 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 134vo, Muzzi, ubi supra ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 425.

sions was Pandolfo Malatesta. Encouraged by Giovanni Bentivoglio, who provided him with both infantry and cavalry, he surprised and recaptured the city and fortress of Rimini [15]; but, on the 3d of October, he was driven out again by the papal captain Dionysius de Naldo [16]. One of the following days he offered, through the duke of Urbino, his rights on Rimini, which he had held in fief from the Sovereign Pontiff, to the Venetian republic, which, on the 12th of October, had indirectly accepted his unlawful proposal [17]. After the death of pope Pius III, Dionysius and his troops retired from Rimini, and Pandolfo made haste to occupy the city once more ; but, noticing that he was unwelcome to the people [18], he renewed his offer to the Venetians, who wrote, on the 8th of November, 1503, that they had commenced to negotiate with him [19], and, on the 25th, it was publicly known that Venice had appropriated the papal city of Rimini, and compensated Pandolfo Malatesta [20].

Cardinal Riario repeatedly applied to the Venetian ambassador in Rome, to obtain the Republic's assistance towards the recuperation of Forli and Imola by his nephews, the sons of Jerome Riario and Catherine Sforza [21]. But Anthony Maria Ordelaffi, to whose father Forli had belonged, till pope Sixtus IV granted the city to the Riarios, requested the aid of the Florentine republic to recapture it. Florence befriended him all the more readily, since the Venetians had commenced their incursions into Romagna, and procured him the troops wherewith to force an entrance into Forli, on the 22d of October, 1503 [22].

15. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 451 ; Cantu, Hist. de la Républ. de Venise, t. IV, p. 122.
16. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 224, and footn.
17. Villari, ibid., footn.
18. Daru, ubi supra.
19. Villari, ubi supra, p. 287, footn.
20. Ibid., p. 310 and n.
21. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 188, 205, 211, 258.
22. Villari, ibid., p. 189, n.; Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t. V, p. 469 ; Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 427.

It was also through the help of Florence, that Franceschetto, the illegitimate son of Galeoto Manfredi obtained Faenza, lately taken from his brother Astorre. He entered this city and its fortress on the 20th of October, 1503, welcomed by the people, under the name of his beloved brother Astorre [23]. He enjoyed, however, his good fortune, only for a few days; for the Venetians, pretending that Cesar de Borgia and Florence were trying to become the absolute masters of Romagna, were constantly advancing, to make for themselves the conquest of that whole province. Faenza was assailed by them and surrendered, on the 19th of the following November [24].

The Florentine republic acted most unjustly when they forcibly deprived Cesar de Borgia, who was still the legal representative in Forli and Faenza of the Sovereign Pontiff, whose authority they also violated, by disposing of those cities among their friends ; and the Venetian ambassador justly accused them to pope Julius II of having appropriated and of retaining the district of Citerna, immediately subject to the Church [25] ; while Venice itself was at work robbing all the cities and territories of Romagna, whether mediately or immediately belonging to the Holy See [26].

Venice had long been watching for an occasion to get a foothold in Romagna [27] ; but the power and diplomacy of pope Alexander VI had kept in check their ambition, as it was hypocritically admitted by their ambassador, when he wrote from Rome, on the 18th of August, that " the death of the Pope was desired by all, as the end of the tribulation of

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23. Villari, ubi supra, p. 269, n.; Ammirato, Istor. Fiorent., t.V, p. 469 ; Gozzadini, Giov. II. Bentiv. p. 143 ; Balan, ubi supra.

24. Villari, ubi supra, pp. 287, n., 305 ; Gozzadini, ubi supra, p. 144 ; Tonduzzi, Historie di Faenza, p. 567.

25. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II. p. 299.

26. Villari, ibid., p. 287; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 311.

27. Cfr. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 425.

Christianity ", that is, of covetous Venice [28]. Hardly was the Pontiff buried, when they sent into the Pontifical States bands of propagandists, who were to revile the papal administration and to praise up the Venetian government [29]. At the same time, they allowed their condottieri to invade the territories of the Church, and to extend their incursions as far as Todi and Viterbo [30]. The Seigniory disowned their excesses, but profited by their spoils [31]. Nor did they fear to order their captain, the count of Pitigliano, with their regular troops to advance into Romagna and openly to attack cities and fortresses of the Church. Already, on the 23d of September, did pope Pius III, scarcely elected, complain to Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, of the action of the Seigniory. In fact, during the night of the 13th of that month, the Venetians, who had managed to have some friends in Cesena, suddenly assailed that city ; but the ducal or papal governor, Anthony del Monte, had armed the citizens at once and repelled the attack [32]. The doge was impudent enough to order his envoy in France to bravely assert that they had tried to capture the papal city for the benefit of ecclesiastical freedom and of the Apostolic See [33]. It was, forsooth, with the same pious intention, that they robbed the Church, in and about Romagna, of the cities of Russi, Fano, Montefiore and of the territory of Valdilamona [34], of Porte Cesenatico and Sant' Archangelo [35] and of other places, such as Faenza and Rimini, mentioned already.

On the 22d of November, pope Julius II called Giustinian and complained of the unjust conduct of the Venetian Seignio-

28. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, 116.
29. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, pp. 360, 370.
30. Villari, ibid., p. 228.
31. Id. ibid., p. 360 ; Balan, Stor. d'Ital., t. V, p. 426.
32. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 469, n.
33. Villari, ibid., p. 468.
34. Id. ibid., p. 287, n. 2.
35. Id. ibid., pp. 356, 357.

ry. He told him that it was his firm desire that all the territories belonging to the Church should be returned to the Church. Having heard that the count of Pitigliano had been ordered to lead their troops into Romagna, he begged them not to extend their incursions any farther. The ambassador, however, allowed himself to answer that, since the vicars of the papal cities had administered them in a wicked manner and without any advantage to the Church, these places might better remain in the power of the Republic than in the hands of others [36]. The Pope continued to beg, to reclaim and to demand the return of his possessions, but to no avail, till finally he was driven to join the league of Cambray, in the year 1509, when he excommunicated the Seigniory. Venice was defeated at the battle of Agnadello, and compelled, in January, 1510, to make full restitution for all its robberies.

The Venetians took revenge by publishing calumnious pamphlets against pope Julius II [37].

Imola, like Cesena, remained loyal. Galeazzo Riario, who wished to regain that city, had recourse to Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, and obtained from him a goodly number of troops, whom he led against Imola, in hopes that its gates would be opened by a faction, that he knew to be favorable to him. But a certain Giovanni Sassatelli, who hated still the former lords, Girolamo Riario and Catherine Sforza, was faithful to the duke of Romagna and to the Church, and had, in time warned the inhabitants of the coming attempt. A battle was fought within the walls between the two parties, in which the Riario faction was defeated, and Galeazzo was obliged to give up his design. Then Bentivoglio sent three thousand men on foot and several bands of cavalry, to execute Riario's plans ; but Sassatelli with the people, so courageously

36. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 305, 306.

37. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 600.

resisted all their enemies, that they preserved Imola for the Church [38].

Besides Cesena and Imola and their castles, all that was left to the duke of Romagna were the fortresses of Forli, Forimpopoli and Bertinore, still held by the castellans appointed by him. In the beginning of December, 1503, at the insistence of pope Julius II, Cesar de Borgia gave up the countersigns of them in favor of the duke of Urbino, for the Church, as we shall have occasion to observe more in detail later on.

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38. Muzzi, Annal. di Bologna, t. V, p. 451 ; Gozzadini, Giov. II Bentivoglio, p. 143.

CHAPTER V.

Nepotism of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — NEPOTISM OF CONTEMPORARY POPES.

Pope Alexander VI had, during his life, received many a token of appreciation and esteem from the people of Rome and of the Pontifical States, from his colleagues, the cardinals, and from the five Supreme Pontiffs, under whom he had served. Extraordinary praises had been bestowed upon him, because of his talents and virtues, by the Catholic princes who congratulated him through their envoys, at the time of his elevation to the apostolic office, and by some contemporary historians, who have left us the most favorable description of him. The common people, tyrannized and downtrodden by their former masters of both the South and of the distant Northeast of Rome had manifested their confidence in him, by opening their gates to his armies, and their gratitude by the splendid receptions they had accorded to his person, on the occasion of his visits to them; and some, by their tenacious fidelity to the government which he had given them.

His death put an end to all worldly praise of him, and was a triumph for the depraved nobility of the Pontifical States, and of all his enemies. His death introduced that period of hatred and revenge, which we had occasion to mention before. One of his late adversaries, Pastor, gives an idea of the iniquities perpetrated during this time of historical injustice. He says [1] : " At the death of Alexander VI, the general judgment on that reprobate, on his life and doings, was most

1. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 473.

unfavorable. Since that day, the opinion of Sigismondo dei Conti grew steadily more severe, and the verdict of Peter Martyr also became harsher ", he adds in a footnote : " When afterwards Julius II, the determined enemy of the Borgias, assumed the government, it became usual to regard the ' Marrano ', Alexander VI, as a pattern of all that is bad and wicked. Marcantonio Altieri openly expressed his satisfaction, that now (about 1509) all the Borgias had been uprooted from the earth, like poisonous weeds, hated by God and injurious to man. Neither was that, by any means, the most stinging sentence. Often was the Borgia pope painted as a monster, and the most shameful ignominies are ascribed to him ". In a note he subjoins : " Vettori's harsh judgment remarks that when princes have attracted hatred upon themselves, every one casts his stone at them, and invents all possible crimes, with which to charge them ".

Pastor further admits that " through recent critical research Alexander VI has been judged more justly, and that some of the worst exaggerations have been cast aside as groundless. We must also be on our guard ", he says, " before accepting without other proof, as reliable the reports of Alexander's contemporaries ; because the judgments of even the most serious and weighty historians are not free from passionate prejudice ; because the ever ready and sarcastic wit of the Roman people, as well in vulgar as in learned pasquinades, tore him up most unmercifully, and attributed to him ignominies and a mode of living, whose filth exceeds the bounds of possibility ".

The facts, which we have so far recorded, afford a sufficient general refutation of the acknowledged misrepresentations of pope Alexander VI, made by escaped criminals and their interested abettors and flatterers ; and now we shall offer a few more facts and evidences, that disprove the specific incriminations, brought forth by the kind of historians and

writers, against whom Pastor himself has seen fit to warn his readers.

Favoritism of nephews and other relatives is an odious and often a harmful abuse of human power and authority. Nepotism seems, however, to be an unavoidable, if not a necessary, evil ; excused to a certain extent by the natural expectation of greater loyalty and better service from persons connected by the strong ties of blood with the superior, who bestows upon them subordinate power, offices, emoluments and honors. The evil pertains to the essence of monarchy, and daily experience demonstrates that it infects democracy itself, which admits that the spoils belong to the victor of a popular election. The Sovereign Pontiffs of the period of pope Alexander VI thought to have good reasons to indulge in nepotism ; but, impressed by its injurious consequences, the cardinals gathered in conclave for the election of the successor of that Pontiff, tried to check them, by their ineffective election capitulations, obliging the successful candidate to promise that he would elevate not more than three of his relatives to the cardinalitial dignity, nor appoint any nephew or other bloodrelation to the office of Captain General of the army of the Church [2].

Not a Roman Pontiff has been accused of nepotism more bitterly than pope Alexander VI ; and, should we exclusively keep in view the moral standard set up, in this regard, by a long series of our latest Supreme Pontiffs, we could not but join in blaming Alexander VI, who, as Gregorovius states [3], made three Borgias : Roderic, Raymund and another Roderic, captains of the palatine guard ; Aloysius Borgia, vicecastellan of Tivoli ; a Giovanni Lenzol, foreman of his stables, and, one after another, five Borgias : two Giovanni, Cesar, Francesco, and Pierluigi, cardinals of the Church. If, however,

2. Archiv. Vatic., Politicorum Varia, t. XX, fo 157vo.

3. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 323, n. 3.

to be just towards that Pope, we take into consideration the facts and circumstances of the time in which he reigned, we shall easily notice that, if guilty of unduly favoring his relatives, he was not more so than the Pontiffs who preceded and followed him.

His uncle, pope Calixtus III, raised him, when yet a student, to the dignity of a cardinal. He gave high commands in his fleet against the Turks to his relatives, Gabriel and Baldassare de Borgia, and to Michael, pope Alexander's brother ; and granted the general captaincy of the papal army to his other brother, the better known Pedro Luis, whom he successively made duke of la Marca and of Spoleto, governor of several cities and prefect of Rome, and whom he finally invested with the cities and territories of Benevento and Terracina.

Pope Pius II admitted into the sacred college of cardinals every cleric found among his relatives : Nicholas Forteguerri, a distant relation on his mother's side, and Francis Todeschini-Piccolomini, a sister's son, whose two brothers, Andrew and James, he endowed with feudal possessions. He made Alexander de Miraballi-Piccolomini his majordomo and prefect of Frascati, and a great number of Piccolomini became prefects of other papal cities or filled honorable and lucrative positions at the Roman court [4]. The registers 497, 515 and others of the Vatican Secret Archives are replete with concessions and favors for the Piccolomini. Pope Alexander VI, then a cardinal, was displaced, as commissary of the papal troops, by Anthony de Piccolominibus [5]. The system of nepotism was so deeply rooted at the time, that Siena, in whose territory pope Pius II was born and which had been singularly favored, complained at his death of having obtain-

4. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 87.

5. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Pii II. Officia an. I, II, III. Lib. I, Regest. 515, f° 229vo.

ed no benefits greater and more numerous. Cardinal Ammanati took the Pope's defence, and enumerated, in a long letter, the temporal and spiritual benefits which the people of Siena, exclusive of his relatives, had received from that Pontiff [6].

Although pope Paul II elevated Marc Barbo, a son of his brother, his sister's son, Baptista Zeno, and a third relative, Giovanni Michel [7], to the cardinalate ; yet nepotism did not, during his reign, assume any offensive nor even remarkable feature [8] ; but during the following pontificate, it took on larger proportions than ever before.

To no apparent benefit of the Church, did pope Sixtus IV draw from their native obscurity nearly all his nephews and overload them with riches, authority and honors. His brother, Raphael, had three sons : Giuliano, Bartholomew and Giovanni. Giuliano was made a cardinal, Bartholomew, bishop of Massa and later, of Ferrara ; and Giovanni, papal vicar or prince of Senigallia, Mondavio and other castles, and prefect of Rome, at the death of his cousin Leonardo della Rovere [9]. This Leonard was a son of Bartholomew, the second brother of the Pope, who had nominated him to the exalted position.

A third brother, Dominic, was raised by Sixtus IV to the honors of a cardinal.

The Pontiff's sister, Bianca, had married Paulus Riario. One of her sons, Pietro Riario-della Rovere, was made cardinal, and the other was endowed with the principality of Forli and of Imola, and afterwards with the General Captaincy of the papal troops. Her daughter, Violante, married to Antonio Sansoni, had a son, Raphael Sansoni-Riario, who was, at the age of seventeen years, elevated by his granduncle to the cardinalitial dignity.

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6. See Document 204.
7. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 348.
8. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 395.
9. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXII, 242, Cap. Alienationes Castrorum.

Pope Sixtus IV's second sister, Luchina, had, by her husband, John William Basso, a son who became the cardinal Girolamo Basso-della Rovere.

The same Pontiff, finally, admitted into the Sacred College another relative, named Christoforo della Rovere [10].

Pope Innocent VIII did not lavish his favors on as many of his relations as his predecessor had done ; but neither did he keep free from the customary nepotism. He made his brother, Maurice Cibò, governor of Perugia [11] ; and granted in fief Cervetri and other cities in the neighborhood of Rome to his son Francesco [12], whom he also chose to replace his brother in the government of Perugia [13] and appointed as director general of the papal army [14]. To Lorenzo Cibò, his brother's son, he granted a cardinal's hat [15], and procured for his daughter, Theodorina, a rich husband, by giving her, as dowry, a large sum of money [16].

All those acts of favoritism took place under the eyes of pope Alexander VI, during the time of his cardinalate, and we should not wonder, if the example given by his five immediate predecessors would have exerted some influence on his conduct towards the members of the Borgia family, as it also helped to excuse the nepotism of his immediate successors.

Cardinal Francis Piccolomini was elected Pope on the 22[d] of September, 1503, and we see that, already on the 15[th] of

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10. Dandolo, Roma ed i Papi, vol. II, p. 423 ; Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Officia, Lib. II, Regest. 656, f° 31 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 424, 426, 433, 437, 445, 550, 551.

11. Pastor, ibid., Bd. III, s. 199.

12. Raphael Volaterranus, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 321, n.— Before entering Holy Orders, Giovanni Baptista, afterwards pope Innocent VIII, had two children, Francesco and Theodorina : Burchard, ibid., p. 321 ; Raphael Volaterranus, Giovanni Stella, Garimberti, and a Genealogical Tree of the family Cibò, drawn in 1546 ; all apud Burchard, ibid., n. Infessura and modern defamers attribute to him seven or more children.

13. Pastor, ubi supra.

14. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1488 ad 1490, f° 62.

15. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 256.

16. Raphael Volaterranus and Stella, ubi supra.

the following month, Adello di Spinello-Piccolomini, bishop of Soana (Terek?), was his majordomo ; Francesco Piccolomini, son of the duke of Amalfi, was the Pontiff's castellan of the fortress of Sant' Angelo, and his two brothers were, during his sickness, conferring, in his name, with the foreign ambassadors in Rome [17].

Pastor asserts that Julius II did away with the system of nepotism [18]. Nevertheless, he named, on the 18th of June, 1504, his relation by affinity, Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, the duke of Urbino, as Captain General and Standard bearer of the Church [19]. On the 8th of July of the same year, he promoted the interests of his niece Lucretia and, the following day, those of his nephews, Francis and Anthony della Rovere [20]. On the 2d of the following October, he placed at the head of the hospital of " San Spirito in Saxia ", as " preceptor ", his other relative, Albertinus della Rovere [21]. He also appointed his nephew, Bartholomew della Rovere, as governor of Spoleto and castellan of its fortress [22].

Pope Julius II elevated to the cardinalitial dignity his nephew Galeotto Franciotti della Rovere, made him vice-chancellor of the Church and overloaded him with benefices [23]. He granted, at the same time, a cardinal's hat to his nephew, Clement Grosso della Rovere [24], afterwards, to Leonard, brother of cardinal Clement [25], and, finally, to his nephew, Sixtus Gara della Rovere, the half-brother of cardinal Galeotto [26].

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17. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, p. 245 and notes.
18. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 528.
19. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 39, no. 22, f° 104 ; Cfr. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 394.
20. Ibid., fiis 110vo, 112vo.
21. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 365.
22. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., ubi supra, f° 203.
23. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 311, 394 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 528, 529.
24. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 318, n.
25. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 408 ; Pastor, ubi supra, s. 528, 530.
26. Pastor, ibid., s. 531.

The nephew dearest to the Pontiff was Francesco Maria della Rovere, the youthful son of his deceased brother, Giovanni. When, in March, 1504, a representative of Forlì told the Pope, that the people of that city objected to surrendering to the Church, for fear of being turned over to the sons of their former lord, Jerome Riario, Julius II replied, Giustinian says [27], that he wanted Forlì, not for the Riarios, but for the Prefect of Rome, Francesco della Rovere. On the following 22d of May, pope Julius II fulfilled the wish of Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, to leave, at his death, the state of Urbino to the same Francesco, their common nephew, to whom he had, shortly before, granted special privileges, to last till the third generation [28]. Finally, on the 20th of February, 1512, he appointed him ruler of the city of Pesaro, that had reverted to the immediate government of the Church, after the death of its lord, Giovanni Sforza, in the year 1510 [29].

The nepotism of the Popes was so common and so universally admitted, that pope Julius II incurred the blame of Roman society, for not supplying with money or territory of the Church one of his nieces, when she was married to Galeazo Riario. They considered it as cruel, to give a wife to the young man, and then to abandon her to his charge, although she was all but his daughter [30].

ARTICLE II. — TREACHERY OF ITALIAN NOBLEMEN, CAUSE OF NEPOTISM.

In favoring his nephews, pope Alexander VI has, for good reasons, followed a custom tolerated or approved at the time,

27. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 12.
28. Paris, Archives Nation., L. 378, no. 3 : Caps. d'Urbin., nos. 24, 25.
29. Paris, Archives Nation., ibid. no. 26 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 528.
30. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 189.

and practiced by both his predecessors and his successors. Yet, more than any other Pontiff, has he been severely criticized for his nepotism, by contemporary writers and later historians. He had admitted to the sacred College one of his cousins, Giovanni de Borgia, but had not yet bestowed any noteworthy benefit upon any of his other relatives, when already Ferdinand I, king of Naples, wrote, on the 7th of June, 1493, in a letter filled with calumnies, that the Pope cared for nothing, except, by right and by wrong, to make great his children, and that this was his only desire [31]. Gregorovius likewise asserts that from the first moment of his pontificate he openly manifested his nepotism [32].

The fact is, however, that, during the first years of his reign, he rather neglected the members of the Borgia house, while he lavished tokens of liberality and confidence upon the nobility of the Pontifical States. He bestowed castles and territories on the Riario, the Vitelli, the della Rovere and on several Orsini. Thus did he enrich with fiefs the count of Pitigliano, Nicholas Orsini, and named him Captain General of the Church, on the 28th of October, 1493 [33]. Together with one or another of the Borgia, he accepted as condottieri all of them willing to apply for his pay, the Orsini and the Conti, the Colonna and the Savelli, the Sforza and the Malatesta, etc.

He could not, however, retain these favorites, because they all proved to be disloyal, if not rebellious to him [34]. On his first war against the Orsini, the very Captain General of his army, Nicholas Orsini, was absent, so as not to side against his own relatives ; and the Pontiff, in order to have a military commander, on whom he could rely, was obliged to call from Spain, in the year 1496, his nephew, Giovanni de Borgia.

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31. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, vol. II, P. II, p. 45-46.
32. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 322.
33. Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 1045, fo 209vo.
34. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 350.

Towards the end of his pontificate there was but one of his vassals, Angelus Farnese, who had not treacherously fought him. As long as they were in power, the Pontiff's vassals constantly acted as independent sovereigns towards him ; and to the people, whom he had confided to their care, they were haughty, corruptive and abusive tyrants ; a menace and disgrace to the pontifical throne, instead of a support and ornament. Pope Alexander VI saw better day after day, that to confide important offices to them or to increase their power was to ruin his own authority, and to augment the misery of his subjects. What could he do, but follow the example of his predecessors, and find among his nephews and kinsmen, ministers naturally more manageable and loyal, who would show an interest and help him in the humiliation of his adversaries and in his own exaltation, while on him alone depended the continuation of their good fortune. Gregorovius himself admits that nepotism has had, in the Pontifical States, its political justification or the causes of its necessary origin [35].

The open rebellion of the Italian cardinals, Giuliano della Rovere, Ascanio Sforza, John Colonna and John Baptist Savelli and of Raymund Pérault, and the dubious attitude of several other cardinals incited pope Alexander VI, or compelled him to shield his authority, by calling into the Sacred College not only several of his relatives, but also quite a number of prominent Spanish prelates. The cardinals, however, of the Borgia and affiliated houses were promoted at such distant dates that, owing to the resignation of Cesar de Borgia and the death of Giovanni de Borgia, the younger, there never were more than four of the Pope's relations seated together in the same consistory, except during the three last

35. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 236 ; cfr. Pastor, Gesch der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 449.

months of his life, when, among the forty-five cardinals created by him, there were five of his cousins ; in consequence of the recent promotion of Francis Lloris, whose mother was one of his remote kinswomen.

ARTICLE III. — NEPOTISM OF ALEXANDER VI.

The acts of nepotism for which pope Alexander VI is blamed the most, are the concessions of high administrative offices and of considerable fiefs in the Pontifical States, which he made to some of his nephews and to one of his nieces.

After trying for three years to gain the good will of the barons and other noblemen of his States, the Pontiff felt obliged to call from Spain his nephew, Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia, and to confide to him the supreme command of the troops of the Roman Church. When he had obtained evidences of his courage and of his fidelity, he bestowed upon him, with the consent of the Sacred College [36], as a feudal duchy, the cities of Benevento, Terracina and Pontecorvo, which, until then, had regularly been under the immediate government of the apostolic Chamber. The grant evidently was intended to encourage him and to further assure his loyal services to the Holy See ; but Giovanni never took possession of his new duchy, having, a few days later, fallen a victim to the hatred of the Orsini.

The Pope, thus being frustrated in his great expectations, prevented his bestowal from producing any actual effect, and at once caused Benevento and the two other cities to remain under the administration of the Church. Already the next year, 1498, the apostolic Chamber employed Jerome Lops to govern Benevento, in its name, and paid him, on the 9th of

36. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 386.

October of that year, his salary amounting to two hundred and forty-six florins and forty-eight bolognese [37]. Giovanni's diploma was from its issue a useless parchment ; on March the 20th, 1499, pope Alexander VI, to satisfy the kings of Spain, simply revoked what he had granted to his nephew [38], following his open policy, which he afterwards plainly enounced, when he declared to Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, that he wanted to retain, at the free disposal of the Church, the territories given to his relatives, whom he would indemnify with other estates [39].

Giovanni de Borgia was no more, to receive any compensation. His uncle's alleged nepotism had actually resulted in an early and cruel death, caused by the services which he had rendered, and was further to render, to the papal government.

For want of trustworthy men, pope Alexander VI named his niece, Lucretia de Borgia, as governess of Spoleto and Foligno, considering that her loyalty, her prudence and discretion well fitted her to rule and pacify those warlike cities.

She was honorably received by the magistrates of Spoleto [40], and by the Baglioni of Perugia. Ere long she had reestablished peace through her gentle activity. At the request of the inhabitants of Nepi, the Pontiff invested her, shortly after, with that city and its territory, which had been abandoned by its governor, the disloyal cardinal Sforza. The Pontiff is further censured for bestowing upon her the possessions confiscated from the Gaetani barons ; but, while Lucretia paid for them the heavy sum of eighty thousand gold ducats into his exhausted treasury, the Pope secured for the Church

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37. Archiv. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, at the date.

38. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 287, n. 1.

39. Villari, Dispacci, t. I, p. 405 Voleva.....; e quelle terre che aveva dato alli soi, che etiam quelle voleva fossero della Chiesa libere, et a loro provederia de altro stato..

40. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 119.

the quiet suzerainty of the cities and large tracts of land, governed by a niece in whom he could fully confide. When, however, Lucretia's marriage with the oldest son of the duke of Ferrara had been decided, and she would, consequently, become useless to the papal government, it was resolved that she should hold no longer either offices or fiefs within the Pontifical States.

Ercole, the duke of Ferrara, found out by sad experience that the nepotism of pope Alexander VI was intended for the benefit of the Church, rather than for the advantage of his favored relatives. " We are not displeased ", he wrote, " at the death of the Pontiff, because there never was a Pope from whom we received less favors or pleasure, even after we had contracted affinity with him. With difficulty have we obtained what he had obliged himself to give; but, in nothing else, whether great, mediocre or small, has he tried to please us [41].

In regard to another of his nieces, Adriana de Borgia, he acted more inconsiderately still ; for he compelled her husband, Franciscus Colonna, to deliver to the Church his city of Palestrina, where he had, for a while, been allowed to remain after the surrender of Ceri [42].

The Pontiff is, however, greatly blamed for the favoritism which he showed to his nephews, the Roman Infants, Roderic, son of Lucretia de Borgia and of Alfonso, duke of Bisceglia, and to Giovanni, the illegitimate child of Cesar de Borgia [43]. Lucretia had been invested with hereditary rights as Governess of Nepi, and had bought at a high price the city of Sermoneta and all the forfeited territories of the Gaetani barons. But, when it was decided that she would marry Alfonso of Este and leave for Ferrara, she was requested and

41. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 292, Bd. II, s. 136.

42. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 400 ; Supra.

43. See farther, Chapter X.

freely consented to cede her proprietary rights on Sermoneta and its dependencies to her son, Roderic about two years old, whom she was obliged to leave behind in Rome ; and also her governorship of Nepi and its district, to Giovanni de Borgia, nearly three years of age [44].

To Lucretia's possessions the Pontiff added those confiscated from the rebel Colonna and Savelli and from their disloyal accomplices ; and, with the written assent of nineteen cardinals, erected them all into two duchies, to wit, of Sermoneta and of Nepi. To Sermoneta he attached twenty-eight towns and places, and granted them to the Infant Roderic, Lucretia's son ; and to Nepi he subjected thirty-six cities and localities, which he bestowed upon the Infant Giovanni de Borgia. He created dukes the two children and gave all ducal and gubernatorial rights to them, to their children and heirs forever, on the 17th of September, 1501 [45]. Shortly after, Giovanni was also made count of Gallese [46], and, on the 6th of September, 1502, he received, as a county, the town of Sallesium, in the diocese of Civita di Castello [47]. He was, moreover, confirmed in the government of the castles of Aigenta, Luci and of S. Pesiti, which he had obtained from the church of Ravenna [48]. Finally, by a bull, subscribed also by the cardinals present, the Infant Giovanni de Borgia, his children and heirs, were, on the 2d of September, 1502, made dukes of Camerino and all its territories and dependent cities, together with several towns in the province of Umbria [49].

Pope Alexander VI was very liberal towards his little nephew Giovanni, but did not forget the interests of the

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44. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 66.
45. Ibidem.
46. Villari, Disp., vol. I, p. 117.
47. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Officia, an. X, XI. Lib. III, Regest. 878, f° 69vo.
48. Rome, Bibl. Barberini. Cod. XXXII, 242. § Alienationes Castrorum.
49. Ibid., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI. Lib. V, Regest. 871, f° 199.

Church. We did not find what was the amount of the census imposed on the duchy of Nepi, but the duke of Camerino was to pay, on the vigil of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, a yearly tribute of one thousand ducats, which the Varano, the former lords, had never paid. Furthermore, the Pontiff placed the little children under the tutelage of cardinal Francis de Borgia, archbishop of Cosenza, who wished and could do no better, in all things and at all times, than to perform the will of the Pope. As a consequence, the feudal states of Nepi, of the Gaetani, of the Colonna and the Savelli, of the d'Estouteville, the Mahentia and of the Poyano barons, besides Camerino, came into the nominal possessions of the two Infant dukes ; but actually under the immediate government of the Sovereign Pontiff, who henceforth could quietly administer all those territories, whose former lords had so often threatened the ruin of his authority. The grants made to the Roman Infants retained yet the form of feudalism ; but, in fact, they became part of the monarchy of a Pope, who openly claimed the disposal of whatever he bestowed upon his nephews.

In the year 1503, pope Alexander VI had resolved, in order to compensate the Church for the great expenses of that year, to incorporate into her immediate dominion all the possessions that had belonged or belonged still to the Roman barons [50]; and, to this effect, he designed to make legal as well as actual the government of the duchy of Sermoneta by the apostolic Chamber ; and to indemnify the infant Roderic de Aragonia, by conferring upon him the city of Fermo and its district. In fact, in the beginning of August, 1503, he ordered that the people of Fermo should call Roderic, Lucretia de Borgia's son, as Lord of their city [51]. To Giovanni, the infant son of

50. Villari, Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian, t. II, p. 92.

51. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 399, and n., Ref. to Annali di Fermo ; Villari, Dispacci, t. II, p. 91.

Cesar de Borgia, had already been given the duchy and territory of Camerino.

The Pontiff never showed any special favor to his nephew, Jofre de Borgia, the prince of Squillace. On the contrary, he intended to dispose, for the benefit of the Church, of the possessions which had been given to the prince by Ferdinand I in the Neapolitan kingdom. In the beginning of the year 1503, he was anxious to leave a memorial of himself, by removing the Orsini from their estates in the neighborhood of Rome, and thus freeing the city from the perpetual unrest caused by them [52]. Prevented by king Louis XII from ejecting the last of them, Giangiordano, he offered to this obnoxious baron to exchange the city of Bracciano with its dependencies for the States of Jofre, his nephew, in the kingdom of Naples, If the prince retained his title and city of Squillace, it was due altogether to the refusal of Giangiordano Orsini to accept the proffer of the Pontiff [53]. Jofre had, no doubt, consented, in the expectation of an ample indemnity, to the designs of his uncle ; but, as these failed of realization, he never obtained but the usual pay of a second class condottiere, for his services to the Church, under the command of his brother, Cesar de Borgia.

ARTICLE IV. — EFFECT OF ALEXANDER'S NEPOTISM.

Pope Alexander VI is accused of nepotism, principally because of the authority and of the territories with which he endowed Cesar de Borgia. Indeed, he gave him a cardinal's hat, and, for good reasons, accepted his resignation of that dignity. Afterwards, while he knew to be absolutely loyal and to possess the peculiar qualities, admired by Machiavelli,

52. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 405.

53. Villari, ibid., p. 397 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 486.

that fitted him to command and to perform great deeds, he confided to him the important office of Captain General of his army.

The power and authority thus conferred are often exaggerated by writers hostile to the Borgias, as if Cesar had conducted all his wars, in his own name and for his own benefit, leaving to the Pope only the duty of paying the bills of expenses. But the fact is that, as long as the Pontiff lived, he acted in obedience to general orders received ; and, as he stated himself [54], he waged one war after another with the intention of solidifying and improving the Pontifical States. In July, 1502, the ambassadors of Venice requested the king of France to stop the conquests of Cesar de Borgia in Romagna ; but Louis XII coldly answered them, that he had no right to prevent the Pope—he did not say, Cesar de Borgia,—from doing what he saw fit to do in his own States; that Cesar did not deserve any blame by aiding the Pontiff in an enterprise so legitimate as was the breaking down the arrogance of his vassals ; and that, moreover, he would treat the Venetians as enemies, if they should hamper him [55]. Machiavelli also remarked that Cesar was a tool in the hands of the Pontiff, whilst achieving all his military feats [56].

Cesar was ordered by the Pontiff to go and expel Catherine Sforza, the delinquent governess of Imola and Forli ; and, after many hardships, he restored the papal authority in those cities. As it was wise policy and almost a duty of the Pope, to reward his disinterested minister [57], he invested him with the hereditary governorship of the two recovered places [58]. At the command of pope Alexander VI, Cesar de Borgia

54. Paris, Archiv. Nation., J. 734, no. 23 : Ut status Sancte Romane Ecclesie stabiliatur, de bello in bellum nos Fortuna ducente.
55. Civiltà Cattolica, ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 659.
56. Il Principe, Cap. XI, p. 45.
57. Cfr. Machiavelli, Il Principe, Cap. XXV, p. 72.
58. See Document 169.

further recovered other papal cities, like those of Pesaro and Rimini. After the capture of Faenza he was, in the month of April, 1501, with the consent and advice of every member of the Sacred College, proclaimed Duke of the whole province of Romagna [59].

His welcome diploma did not, however, make him an independent sovereign, as his and the Pope's enemies pretend; but a devoted vassal of the Roman church, obliged to govern in a just manner acceptable to the people ; and to pay a yearly " census " or tribute into the pontifical treasury. It is generally admitted that his administration was useful and pleasing to his subjects, and he performed the latter duty, which the former lords had, for many years, refused to fulfill, when, on the 28th of June, 1502 and 1503, he paid to the papal Camera the sum of two thousand and three hundred ducats of gold, as annual census of the duchy of Romagna [60]. Let it be remarked here that the Pontiff's nephew, Giovanni de Borgia, and, no doubt, Roderic de Borgia de Aragonia also, paid a yearly tribute for their fiefs. On the 28th of June, 1503, Giovanni, or his tutor, paid to the papal treasury a thousand ducats, as yearly census for the duchy of Camerino [61].

The Civiltà Cattolica [62] asserts that the Pope had in view to change Cesar's title of Duke into that of King ; and, from Romagna, the Marches and Umbria, to form a kingdom vassal to the Church, with which Cesar should be invested. The late and often incorrect von Reumont is of that opinion [63], but Çurita [64] who is followed by Ranke [65], reports that such a

59. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 475 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 131 ; Civiltà Cattol., ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 425.

60. See Document 205.

61. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Julius II. Div. Camer. 1502-1508, Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 69 ; and Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, on July 15th, 1502, and vol. 533, at the date of June 30th, 1503.

62. Ser. 9, vol. VII, p. 666.

63. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 246.

64. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 68, p. 242.

65. Geschichten, s. 168.

scheme was, not of the Pope, but of the king of Spain, who, in order to win the Pontiff's alliance towards his conquest of the whole Neapolitan kingdom from the French, spoke with the emperor of Germany to that effect, saying, in particular, that it was better to let Cesar hold Tuscany, with the title of a King, as a fief of the empire, than to see the French take possession of it. Pope Alexander VI did not, however, pay attention to Ferdinand's proposal, and continued in his neutrality between the two contending monarchs.

The learned Review further says that the Pope had already entered into negotiations with Maximilian, to obtain for Cesar the investiture of Pisa, Siena and Luca—not of the imaginary new kingdom. Such is a suspicion of the Venetian envoy in Rome [66], who mentions Piombino instead of Pisa, but utters not a word of Cesar nor of a kingdom.

Frizzi [67] innocently states that the Pontiff had declared Cesar de Borgia duke of Romagna, with the flattering prospect of a more dignified title, if he should succeed in wrenching the kingdom of Naples from the hands of the French and of the Spaniards. Frizzi perhaps improves upon a diplomatic calculation of Giustinian, who makes the incredible assertion that, to secure the Pontiff's assistance against Spain, Louis XII had offered to give him, in exchange for Romagna and the Bolognese districts, the whole kingdom of Naples, after he should have conquered it and restored it to order and peace [68]. Yet, the supposed offer wrought no change in the Pope's neutrality.

The king of France, to honor the talents of Cesar de Borgia, made him duke of Valentinois and allowed him the lilies of his escutcheon, and the king of Spain gratuitously made him

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66. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 65.

67. Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara, vol. IV, p. 202.

68. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 90, 91 : Il quale li offerisce el Regno di Napoli quieto.

prince of Andria [69]. Why find fault with pope Alexander VI, who proclaimed him duke of Romagna, only after he had rendered the most brilliant services to the Roman Church ? In fact, it was the benefit of the Church, which the Pontiff held in view, when he bestowed favors upon any of his relatives.

Wisely and well did he put aside the treacherous nobility of the Pontifical States and place confidence in his nephews. He commenced his temporal reign without power or authority; almost without a foot of ground, on which he could securely stand. Before dying he had expelled his rebel vassals and the tyrants of his subjects ; he had considerably increased his immediate administration; he held in his own hand nearly all the territories situate in the proximity of Rome ; while the northern parts of his States were governed by, or in the name of, nephews devoted to him, useful to his treasury and benign to the people whom he had confided to them. Alexander VI, more than any other Pope, contributed through his nepotism, to the establishment of an orderly, strong and peaceful pontifical monarchy, as it continued to be until our own times [70]. Settembrini states that " Alexander VI is of great importance because ", he says, " he was the first to change the principality of the Church into a State of the Church, and was the true author of the Pontifical States. Julius II continued his work " [71].

Pastor acknowledges that Alexander VI has effectively done the first work towards the reestablishment of the States of the Church ; although he adds with Machiavelli, whom he justly calls one of the most violent enemies of the Popes at the time, that the Pontiff did not, of course, " natürlich ", intend the

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69. Çurita, Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 55, fº 217vº.

70. Brosch, Gesch. des Kirchenstaates, vol. I, s. 21 ; H. de l'Epinois, in Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 416-417 ; Yriarte, Les Borgia, t. II, p. 178.

71. Lezioni di Letteratura Italiana, p. 5.

good result of his exertions, made with Cesar de Borgia, as a tool ; but of which the Church eventually became the heiress [72]. So wonderfully, moreover, had the victories of Cesar enhanced the political influence and consideration of the Pontiff, that, while Louis XII of France and Ferdinand of Spain offered the most alluring conditions to win him to their side, Maximilian of Germany sought to obtain his friendship and favor [73].

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72. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 548 ; Machiavelli, Il Principe, Cap. XI, p. 45. de l'Epinois says, Revue des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, pp. 416, 417 : C'est donc Alexandre VI qui, en frappant une turbulante féodalité, assura aux États de l'Église leur constitution moderne. Jules II ne fit qu'achever l'œuvre d'Alexandre. Le népotisme rendit service aux populations, parce qu'il aida à restituer aux municipalités leur ancienne liberté en détruisant les tyrans qui l'avaient opprimée.

73. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 101.

CHAPTER VI.

Finances of pope Alexander VI.

ARTICLE I. — DEBTS OF THE PAPAL TREASURY.

Machiavelli states that it was through the instrumentality of Cesar de Borgia, that Alexander VI accomplished the brilliant feats of his reign as a temporal sovereign ; but he demonstrated, better than any other Pontiff, he says, that a Pope can attain to power by the use of force and the expenditure of money [1]. It took, however, several years before he could afford to spend any money in reclaiming his rights from the rebellious tyrants of his people.

Were it true that cardinal Roderic de Borgia " had accumulated immense treasures ", at the time of his election to the throne of St. Peter, he should have been sufficiently proud to pay te expenses of his solemn coronation, and would not have been compelled to borrow, from cardinal Ascanio Sforza, the sum of twelve thousand ducats, and to pledge to him the taxes on salt, in order to cover a portion of the indebtedness incurred on that occasion [2].

The papal treasury was not only exhausted but deeply involved, when pope Alexander VI took in hand the conduct of the finances of the Holy See. Jerome Porcius states [3] that he found the income of his treasury pledged for the sum of two hundred thousand ducats.

Not before several years was the apostolic treasury in any

1. Il Principe, Cap. XI, p. 45.
2. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div. An. IX, X, XI, Regest. 883, f° 172vo.
3. Commentarium ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. B. B. B. I, 13.

better circumstances. On the 20th of January, 1495, the Pope dismissed all his condottieri and their men, because he had not wherewith to pay them, " quia Camera apostolica nimium exhausta sit " [4].

To discharge the heavy burdens of debt and to manage the temporal and spiritual administration of the Church, the Pontiff's only resources were his own careful attention to his pecuniary condition, and his personal reliability besides the limited dues to his treasury, to secure the further loans unavoidably to be contracted.

He commenced by establishing a correct enumeration of all indebtedness of the Church. We have related already how, at the death of pope Innocent VIII, certain bankers, called merchants, claimed that the Church owed them more than a hundred and twenty thousand ducats. The Pope called them before himself and Raphael Riario, his treasurer general, who had several conferences with them ; and it was found that their demands rested not on fair accounts. It was finally agreed between them that the papal treasury owed them thirty-five thousand and seventy gold florins [5]. B. Gaddi relates [6] the same or another business transaction, when he writes that " the Pope ordered a revision of all accounts, old and new, which had been kept by the officials of the apostolic chamber ; and imposed fines for the smallest mistakes, saying that falsaries had robbed St. Peter ; and, from those strange corrections, drew considerable sums of money ".

After thus reducing to their just quantity the financial burdens of his government, pope Alexander VI discovered, to his dismay, that the Church was indebted yet to an amount greater than that of a whole year's income. On the 5th of June, 1493, he wrote to Adrian Castellesi, papal collector in

4. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Diversa Cam. 1495-1497. Armar. 29, no. 51, f° 1.

5. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 34, no. 13, f° 117vo.

6. Rome, Bibl. Corsin., Cod. 1323 or 33, A. 2, f° 9.

England, that he had found the apostolic chamber to be obliged to the payment of three hundred thousand gold ducats and more, to divers merchants and other individuals, in consequence of the unbearable load which his predecessor had been compelled to take upon himself, in order to provide for the needs of the Church and for its defence against the Turks. He added that the interest was, day after day, further consuming the resources of his treasury, increasing its liabilities and causing loss and injury. Since the revenues of the Church were not sufficient to pay off all its debts, to defray its other needs and to oppose the efforts of the perfidious Turks thirsting after Christian blood, it was necessary to seek help in other quarters. He stated that some Christian princes had already generously aided him with their own private means, and expected that Henry, the king of England, would not refuse to lend, and to make his people lend, him the needed assistance. He then commissioned Adrian Castellesi to gather from all church revenues in the English kingdom a subsidy of a hundred thousand ducats, or whatever he should be able to collect [7].

We did not learn the amount of relief obtained from Christian princes and their States, but we know that the Pontiff tried, from the first months of his reign, to secure also at home, small sums free of interest, wherewith to pay the most pressing and most ruinous claims of bankers and merchants. There we find him and the officials of his treasury steadily at work, digging new fiscal holes to fill others of former times. Among many of the same kind [8], we have noticed the following transactions, during the first year of his administration.

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7. See Document 206.

8. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1494 : On folios 38 and seqq. follow, one after another, mandates for payments of old debts, and records of monies borrowed on every branch of income, during the first months of the reign of pope Alexander VI.

On the 8th of September, 1492, cardinal Ascanio Sforza lent to the papal treasury the sum of fourteen thousand nine hundred and thirty florins [9].

On the same day, a loan of four thousand three hundred and seventy-five florins was made by the cardinal of St. Clement's, Dominic della Rovere, to the apostolic chamber.

On the 6th of November of the same year, the Pope borrowed one thousand ducats from cardinal San Severino.

His treasury borrowed a sum of two thousand three hundred and fifty florins, on December 3d, 1492.

On the 3d of January, 1493, there was tendered by the apostolic chamber the sum of one thousand eight hundred and forty-six ducats, to Paul de Saulis, as part payment on twenty-two thousand five hundred and seventy ducats, lent by him and secured by the spiritual incomes of the Holy See.

On the following day, the apostolic chamber borrowed one thousand four hundred and ninety-three florins from cardinal Raphael Riario.

On the 23d of the same month were paid to eight different creditors old debts aggregating seven thousand four hundred and seventy-two florins, for the repayment of which were also pledged the spiritual revenues of the Pope.

On the next day, January the 24th, were paid mortgaged claims of five bankers or merchants, three thousand one hundred and twelve florins.

On the 28th of February, 1493, Lorenzo de' Medici received from the papal treasury the five thousand eight hundred and thirty-three florins, which he had lent for the funeral of pope Innocent VIII.

On the 31st of the following month of May, Adrian Castellesi, papal collector in England, lent to the Camera a thousand ducats [10].

9. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, fo IIIvo.

10. The above items are recorded in Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524 at the dates.

(The legends are :

PONT. MAX. ALEXANDER VI.

SANCTUS PETRUS. ALMA ROMA.)

A double ducat, of about 18 carat gold; weighing six grams and seventy-five centigrams, (Kaiserl. und Königl. Museum in Vienna, no. 16827).

The Pontiff was, at the beginning of his reign, so hard pressed for money, that he did not refuse to mortgage to his relative, Philip Cardador, the castle of Bertinoro, for the loan of a miserable five hundred ducats [11], and did not disdain to borrow from workmen in his employ [12].

There was no time for all those borrowed moneys ever to accumulate ; but, as soon as received, they were paid out, to satisfy, in parts at least, the most pressing claims [13].

Pope Alexander VI always paid the closest attention to the management of his finances. In August, 1495, he named the cardinal John de Borgia, the prothonotary Andrew de Spiritibus and Dominic de Capranica, clerics of the apostolic treasury, as a commission to examine all papal account books [14]. It was actually on credit that he was obliged to live and to perform the unavoidable duties of his exalted position of a temporal sovereign. It took several years before the accounts of his treasuy allowed him any quiet or satisfaction ; and, in fact, he could at any time during his pontificate, say in truth, what he said in the year 1500, to the Venetian envoy, Paolo Cappello, namely, that he was a poor man [15].

Following is a table, as complete as we could derive it from the original account books, of the monthly balances or receipts and disbursements of the papal treasury. The statements of Surplus and of Deficit do not give an idea of the true financial condition, because the Pope's bonded indebtedness or loans

11. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXII, 242, Aliensationes Castrorum, in fine.

12. Rome, Archivio di Stato, Mandati 1492-1494, f° 86.

13. For instance, on the 31st of August, 1493, cardinal Orsini received 1566 florins and 42 bolognese " in deductionem crediti, et assignamenti quod habebat super introitibus Camerae ", and on May the 31st of the following year, 2083 florins were paid to him " pro assignamento sibi facto super Dohanna patrimonii presentis anni ".

14. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Camerae, 1495-1497. Lib. 2, Armar. 29, no. 51, f° 41vo.

15. Albèri, Relazioni degli ambasciadori Veneti, ser. 2, t. III, p. 7.

by " litterae patentes " [16] were not included in the monthly reckonings ; but they plainly show that the income did not equal the expenses, and that the Pontiff was almost constantly in pecuniary difficulties.

Oct.	1,	1493	Deficit	fl.	34171.b.16
Febr.	1,	1494	Surplus		×
Mch.	1,	"	Deficit		1610.13
Apr.	1,	"	"		2945.70
May	1,	"	Surplus		1773.34
June	1,	"	Deficit		3034.48
Aug.	1,	"	"		20491.13
Sept.	1,	"	"		31097.50
Oct.	1,	"	"		15223.71
Nov.	1,	"	"		25333.17
Dec.	1,	"	"		28316.06
Jan.	1,	1495	"		22096.61
Febr.	1,	"	"		29036.52
Mch.	1,	"	"		30648.61
Apr.	1,	"	"		28439.56
May	1,	"	"		27129.64
June	1,	"	Surplus		×
July	1,	"	"		×
Aug.	1,	"	"		5532
Sept.	1,	"	Deficit		30907.10
Sept.	1,	1496	Surplus		5532.2
Oct.	1,	"	"		2753.22
Nov.	1,	"	Deficit		20581.46
Dec.	1,	"	"		25120.27
Jan.	1,	1497	"		36980.13
Febr.	1,	"	"		31210.45

16. Notarial acts stipulating the sums borrowed and the sureties pledged. Interests were ordinarily paid under the name of donation.

Mch.	1,	1497	Deficit	fl.	54178.61
Apr.	1,	"	"		40249.01
May	1,	"	Surplus		7572.57
June	1,	"	"		20762.06
July	1,	"	"		18923.16
Aug.	1,	"	Deficit		×
Sept.	1,	"	Surplus		1194.42
Oct.	1,	"	Deficit		×
Nov.	1,	"	"		×
Dec.	1,	"	Surplus		×
Febr.	1,	1498	"		4159.09
Mch.	1,	"	"		8136.61
Apr.	1,	"	"		10874.04
May	1,	"	"		21678.50
June	1,	"	"		14835.37
July	1,	"	"		20748.07
Aug.	1,	"	"		18342.21
Sept.	1,	"	"		3977.42
Oct.	1,	"	Deficit		1640.29
Nov.	1,	"	"		8912.40
Dec.	1,	"	Surplus		2528.43
Jan.	1,	1499	Deficit		331.10
Febr.	1,	"	Surplus		2183.19
Mch.	1,	"	Deficit		3552.28
Apr.	1,	"	"		8789.38
May	1,	"	"		8010.54
June	1,	"	Surplus		1050.63
July	1,	"	Surplus		8045.48
Aug.	1,	"	"		10413.15
Jan.	1,	1502	Deficit		16025.03
July	1,	"	"		14009.01
Dec.	1,	"	Surplus		2274.20 [17].

17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 525-532, at the dates; Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apostolica, s. 263.

We will easily understand why pope Alexander VI continued to be in need of money, if we take into consideration the expensive works which he undertook to accomplish.

ARTICLE II. — EXPENSES OF ALEXANDER VI.

Little did he spend for his personal support ; for his table was so frugally furnished, that Cesar de Borgia and some of the cardinals avoided all invitations to dine with him. We notice in his treasury books, it is true, that he occasionally drew sums of money, " pro suis necessitatibus ", to satisfy his wants ; but we also there find that he used such sums, as well as nearly all the income of his private treasury for the benefit of his public government.

Pope Pius II tells us [18] that the highest amount of his aggregate revenues, yearly, was three hundred thousand ducats, and that one half of them was needed for the administration of his States and the payment of the officials of his court. Since his time, the territories of the Church immediately subject to the dominion of the Pope had been greatly enlarged, and the burden of paying life annuities to hundreds more of officials, who had bought their positions at the Roman chancery, was now considerably increased. As a consequence, the ordinary annual expenses of the temporal government of pope Alexander VI, especially during his last years, likely amounted to a hundred and seventy-five thousand ducats, while he stated, on the 18th of November, 1500, that, after his concessions made to Christian kings and princes in favor of expeditions against the Turks, his yearly income, from temporal and spiritual sources, did not amount to two hundred thousand ducats [19].

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18. Commentarium, p. 339.
19. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Politicorum Varia, vol. XXX, f° 136 ; Bibl. Vaticana, Ottobon., Cod. 2726, f° 197 and Urbin., Cod. 864, f° 187.

It seems almost incredible that a Pontiff, deeply in debt and with a small income, could, from the beginning of his reign, afford to make extraordinary expenditures, whose totals are enormous, without claiming any taxes or contributions from his subjects. Let it suffice here summarily to recall some of the most remarkable outlays of money made by pope Alexander VI.

He rebuilt and enlarged the castle of Sant' Angelo, improved the northern walls of the Leonine City, upon which he erected the covered gallery between the fortress and the Vatican palace ; and, soon after, he repaired the walls and gates of the whole City. He constructed the University of Rome on a broader plan, and the portico of St. Peter's basilica, decorated the ceiling of Santa Maria Maggiore and repaired many other churches. He improved the apostolic palace, to which headded the large building of the " Torre Borgia ". Among many other public works, he erected bridges, castles and fortresses, within and without the Roman city.

All those vast and numerous achievements have cost huge sums, which we could not venture to estimate, but must have run into several hundred thousands of ducats [20].

Since the year 1500, the Pontiff annually gave to Ladislas, king of Hungary, the sum of forty thousand ducats, in order to assist him in making war, on land, against the perfidious Turks ; and he bound himself to build and equip, at a colossal expense, a fleet of twenty vessels, towards helping Venice in opposing the formidable enemies, who were preparing a great naval attack on the Christian nations.

It was, however, especially by the wars against his rebellious vassals that his treasury was drained. Disregarding all expense, he cast nine cannon of various dimensions and other pieces of artillery, a contemporary report says [21].

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20. Last Chapter of the preceding Volume.

21. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod XXXII, 242.

The Camera paid to the captain general and to the condottieri of the papal army :

May 7, 1502, to Cesar de Borgia and Vit. di Castello	fl. 1875
Same day, to Cesar, Jul. and Paul. Orsini and Vitell.	7500
Same day, to the same four condottieri	17500
May 13, to the prince Squillace	81
Same day, to Franciscus Orsini, duke of Gravina	625
May 20, to the same Franciscus Orsini	3750
May 23, to Cesar de Borgia	12000
Same day, to the same Cesar, captain general	16000
Same day, to William Raymund de Borgia	112
Thus in two weeks, the sum of [22]	fl. 59443

On the following 28th arrived in Rome the artillery of Frederic, the late king of Naples, for which the Pope had paid thirteen thousand ducats [23].

Another total of 44824 ducats was, shortly after, disbursed for warlike purposes, namely : Between May 10th and July 12th, 1502, powder was bought for about 3324 ducats. During the same period, there was paid 3750, 490, 2960 and 2980 florins for artillery [24]. On September 17th, 16320, and, on December, 3d, 1502, 15000 ducats were forwarded again to the captain general, Cesar de Borgia [25]. Nor did we take notice of several minor items of a like nature.

Pope Alexander VI said to the Venetian envoy, on the last day of the year 1502 : In truth, the expenses went up, these last days, to more than a thousand ducats a day ; and now that the French auxiliary troops have left, our Duke remains yet with four hundred men-at-arms, six hundred light cavalry and six thousand men on foot; " and it does no good to write

22. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532. At the dates.

23. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 207.

24. These last sums, as also the following, were paid by the Pontiff's private treasury.

25. Gottlob, Aus der Camera, s. 229, footn.

to him that he should avoid expenses [26] ". On April 6th, 1503, he told to the same envoy, that the capture of the castle of Ceri had cost him forty thousand ducats [27].

Such enormous expenditures not only absorbed all revenues, whether public or private, but also compelled the Pontiff, in order to relieve the pecuniary pressure, to adopt various extraordinary means, of which we shall relate a few.

Between the 20th and the 25th of May, 1502, he borrowed from different persons no less than forty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-nine florins, which he secured by mortgaging his future revenues from customs and other duties [28].

He sold the custom duties of St. Eustache in Rome for three years, and, on the 27th of June, received in advance a part of the price, 6770 florins. In like manner he received, the same day, 4062 florins, as part payment for the duties on salt in the province of the Marches, which he then sold for a term of eight years, that were to commence only on the following 4th of November. He made special bargains with the communities of Amelia and of Foligno in regard to future dues ; and, on the same 27th, received thereon, respectively, 1364 and 4197 florins [29].

In August, 1502, the Pontiff successfully requested the loan of money from several cardinals [30].

On September 1st, he granted, for life, the office of apparitor if the chancery, for the ready cash of 2156 florins. On the 15th of November, he borrowed 5416 florins, on the duties of foreign wines [31].

He sold on the 28th of April, 1503, to the infant Roderic de Borgia of Aragon the town of Cichogruola with its appur-

26. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 297.
27. Id. Ibid., p. 465.
28. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, at the dates.
29. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, at the date.
30. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie, vol. IV, p. 324.
31. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, at the dates.

tenances and a palace in Rome, for which he received from the child's tutor, the cardinal Francis de Borgia, the sums of 16666 and of 6250 florins [32].

In fact, the Pontiff, in his financial distress, tried to make money in every possible way, and from anything that could decently be alienated and was not sold or mortgaged yet. As a matter of course, every income, small or large, from his ordinary resources, temporal or spiritual, was always, long before it was received, destined to remove some special burden.

ARTICLE III. — ORDINARY SOURCES OF INCOME.

The rights of the Church to annual tribute from her feudal states and principalities were of little avail to the finances of pope Alexander VI, who, occasionally only, received from a few of his temporal Vicars in the Pontifical States, the census which they all were obliged to pay every year. In his zeal to encourage war against the Turks, he even dispensed king Louis XII of France and Ferdinand of Spain, after their conquest of Naples, from paying their dues, at the investiture of their relative share in that kingdom.

We have noticed [33] that Gregorovius found only about a hundred thousand ducats to be received from customs, and other similar duties, the sole contributions paid by the people under the immediate administration of the Church ; but the Pontiff himself, when offering a war subsidy of forty thousand ducats to the king of Hungary, declared his average revenue to be of two hundred thousand ducats. This amount undoubtedly included not only the incomes of the apostolic chamber, of the sub-treasuries and of the Roman and other

32. Ibidem.

33. Supra, vol. IV, Ch. II, Art. IV.

custom houses, but whatever he received in his capacity of a a temporal prince; such as certain duties reserved in vassal cities, like those on wine in Bologna, which brought a thousand and sixty-two florins in the year 1502 [34]. To him or to his treasury were also paid the fines imposed as punishment of certain offenses, or confiscated, at times, the possessions of greater criminals.

The issue and transmittal of papal bulls and briefs brought to the Roman court numerous sums of money; but this income was used to pay the pontifical secretaries, the officials of the chancery for their labor, and the courtiers, who had purchased their office, for the life annuities due to their investments. A small portion only of these receipts ever reached the hand of the Pontiff ; and, in the last year of his reign, pope Alexander VI renounced these petty benefits altogether, in favor of the Writers of Apostolic Briefs, whom he then established [35]. The papal treasury profited, however, from time to time, by the sale of venal offices, become vacant by the death of their former incumbents.

One more occasion of papal income, though casual and rare, was the inheritance from cardinals and prelates of the Roman court, who died without a last will. Of this we shall speak more at large bye and bye.

von Reumont justly remarks [36] that the greater half of a Pontiff's revenues proceeded from countries outside the Pontifical States. Indeed, as it was a Pope's duty to administer the Universal Church, so also had he a right to demand from her various parts the temporal means to perform his arduous task. The contributions, " spiritualia ", which he received in his capacity of Supreme Pontiff, varied greatly from year to year, but were always considerable.

34. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, at June 1st.

35. See Document 207.

36. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 280.

The most important of these were the Annates. The Pope, namely, reserved for himself one half of the first year's fruits or revenues of all prebends and benefices that were granted by himself or the Curia Romana, and the amount was payable at the taking of possession by the beneficiaries. Newly appointed archbishops, bishops and abbots were required to pay the " servitia communia " and the " servitia minuta ", generally equivalent to a year's income of their dioceses or abbeys. Of these " servitia " one half, however, went to the college of cardinals, and three and a half per cent to the chancery officials. In a complaint made before the Council of Constance, the incredible statement was made that France alone paid every six years the sum of 697,750 florins [37]. To gather these and other dues, the Popes regularly kept an official collector in England, in Hungary and Poland and in other Catholic States. The bishop of Leon remitted, on the 27th of June, 1502, to the papal treasury nine thousand four hundred and seventy-nine ducats collected in Spain [38].

Favored bishops and archbishops made to the Pontiff, on the occasion of being invested with the Pallium, a respectful donation, proportionate to their revenues and to the solemnities of the bestowal of the insignia.

The ancient tribute of St. Peter's Pence was still kept up in some northern countries at the time of pope Alexander VI. On the 20th of December, 1501, John Turso, a dean of Breslau, is still designated as collector of St. Peter's Pence and of other rights of the apostolic chamber in the province of Gnesen, and lends to the Pontiff a thousand ducats on his future receipts [39].

Taxes on dispensations and other ecclesiastical privileges usually were of little benefit to the Pope, but were then, as

37. Woker, Das Kirchliche Finanzwesen, s. 12.

38. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, at the date.

39. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1501-1503, fo 88vo.

now, destined to charitable institutions and to the support of papal employees.

Greater sums were obtained when a Pope, in special needs and perils of the Church, imposed tithes on all ecclesiastical incomes of one or more countries, as circumstances seemed to require. So did pope Alexander VI, when yet a cardinal, prescribe tithes on the Spanish clergy, in the name of Sixtus IV ; and, in like manner, did he, towards the end of his reign, order the payment of tithes in all Christian countries, in favor of a new crusade against the Turks, who threatened to devastate the whole of Europe. These tithes from the clergy of Rome and of the Pontifical States, together with the alms received on the occasion of the Grand Jubilee, enabled him to do his large share in the expeditions on land and sea, that restrained for many years the ambitious designs of the cruel enemies of Christianity.

ARTICLE IV. — THE TOLFA ALUM MINES.

The alum beds of Tolfa, about seven miles E.N.E. of Civita Vecchia, were found during the reign of pope Pius II, in the year 1461 or 1462. This discovery proved to be an event of great importance. The mineral was of better quality than that of Asia Minor and, at the request of the Pontiff, the Christians ceased to buy alum from the Turks, who, consequently, suffered considerable loss. Two years later eight thousand men were at work in Tolfa and the papal income increased by a hundred thousand ducats [40].

Pope Pius II considered the alum mines as a gift of God, and took the resolution of employing their proceeds exclusively to save Europe from the ravages of the Turks, to

40. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 182, seq.

support the noble refugees, who had escaped from them, after losing all their earthly goods, and to assist some other victims of Mohammedan rapacity. His successors followed his example. A commission of three cardinals was regularly named to administer all monies thus received for the benefit of the " Sacra Cruciata " ; special treasurers were appointed and special books were kept, entirely distinct from those of both the public and the private papal treasuries [41]. Should, however, the resources of " Aluminium Sacræ Cruciatæ " be inadequate to their object, the Camera Apostolica was to supply the deficiency ; while, in certain cases, monies from the mines were paid into the public treasury [42].

The alum industry of Tolfa contributed the more generous sums during the first years of its operations. Afterwards more labor was required to dig the raw material, and robbers found their way to the manufactured commodity. On the 21st of August, pope Alexander VI threatened with the most severe temporal and spiritual punishment and the forfeiture of all their possessions the thieves and pirates that would take from animals or vessels the alum which they were to transport, either sold or to be sold for the maintenance of the Christian refugees from the Turkish dominions [43]. This notwithstanding, the Orsini barons made, towards the end of his reign, an armed raid on Tolfa, stole the alum and the animals and destroyed the works and the buildings.

The Pontiff was obliged to supplement the loss, with the proceeds of the tithes and the alms of the Jubilee indulgences; but he continued to pay the monthly subventions of all the unfortunate beneficiaries of the alum revenues, and even increased their number.

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41. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 48; Hist. Jahrbuch, Bd. VI, s. 442 ; Gottlob, Aus der Camera apostolica, s. 65.

42. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, Aug. 2d, 1503.

43. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull., an. I, II, t. VIII, Regest. 779, f° 212.

We may have overlooked a few, but we found[44] the following pensioners successively placed on the roll of the Tolfa mines for monthly pay, some of them drawing their allowances still at the time of pope Alexander VI.

September 11th, 1476, the Most Illustrious lord Andrew Paleologus, δεσπότης, prince of the Greek city of Nauplia of the Romeans, who received, every month, 300 florins.

The Ill. lady Catherine, queen of Bosnia, 200 fl.

The Ill. lady Carlotta, queen of Cyprus, 200 fl.

The Magnificent lord Arenith Comeno of Albania, 32 fl.

The Ill. lord prince of Rassia, 32 fl.

The Ill. lady Angelina, widow of the late lord Stephan, prince of Rassia, and the lord George and his brothers and sisters, 40 fl.

The Magnificent lady Elisabeth Barbo, sister of pope Paul II and her household, 50 fl.

The noble ladies, Helena, Mary, Paula and Praxina, survivors to the late queen of Bosnia, 14 fl.

The Honorable Theodore Semblaco, a relative of the prince of Morea, 3 fl.

The Venerable lady Margaret of Bosnia, daughter of the late queen of Bosnia, 3 fl.

The Most Rev. cardinal of Novara, 100 fl.

Lady Helena, daughter of the late prince of Janina, 3 fl.

The Lord Demetrius, a Greek knight, 6 fl.

The Venerable ladies, Helena, Mary, Margaret and Anna and the gentleman, Abra, children of the late queen of Bosnia, 15 fl.

The Greek lady, Mary de Pera, 2 fl.

Three or four others received a similar small monthly pension.

The Most. Rev. cardinal Foscaro, 200 fl.

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44. Rome, Arch. di Stato, Mandati 1476-1485, fiis 1, 1vo, 3, 6vo, 13vo, 20vo, 33vo, 58, 59vo, 60, 61, 62, 63vo, 75vo.

The Magnificent lady Constance de Mirandula, countess of Concordia, 50 fl.

The Most Rev. cardinal of St. Marcellus, 100 fl.

The Most Rev. cardinal de Savelli, 200 fl.

From the " Mandati 1492-1500,[45] we make up the following second list of monthly beneficiaries of the Tolfa alum revenues :

The Illustrious Andrew Paleologus, prince of Morea, 50 ducats.

The lord Leonard de Toccho, prince of Arta, 50 duc.[46].

The lord Paul de Mirandula, 50 duc.

The heirs of Paul Orsini, 25 florins.

Peter de Matutiis, 20 fl.

Lady Catherine de Colonna, widow of the late Deiphobus of Anguillaria[47].

Lady Lucretia Farnese, widow of the lord of Anguillara, 8 fl.

The count Anthony de la Mirandula, 100 ducats.

The Nuns of St. Cosmatius, in Rome, 5 fl.

The Nuns " Turris Speculi ", in Rome, 5 fl.

The Nuns " Montis Magnanapuli ", in Rome, 5 fl.

Francis the Greek, 3 fl.

Paul Crispus, 3 fl.

Lady Catherine Zamphonissa, 3 fl.

Hector Tenglis, his wife and children, from Cyprus, 8 fl.

Lady Aloisia, Tenglis' mother, 6 ducats.

Lady Mary de Gurga from Candia, 36 Karlins[48].

John of Milan, 3 florins.

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45. Foliis 75 and seqq. of the same Archiv. de Stato.

46. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. Lib. IIII, Armar. 29, no. 53, f° 86-91.

47. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1495-1497 : Armar. 29, no. 51, f° 150vo.

48. On July 6th, 1498, Maria Greca de Candia is allowed three Duc. from the monies of S. Cruciata: Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499. Armar. 29, no. 52, f° 179.

Guido Idrontinus, 3 fl.

Vincent Arenes of Saragossa, 3 fl.

Titus, bishop of Castro, 8 fl.

Alexander of Pisa, 5 fl.

The pensioners were not exactly the same every month but were always in about the same number.

The third and last roll is of persons assisted every month from the papal income from the alum mines, during the last years of pope Alexander VI [49] and they were :

The Illustrious lord Charles de Toccho, prince of Arta, 41 ducats [50].

Lady Catherine Orsini, widow of the late Honoratus de Caietano, 15 ducats.

The heirs of Paul Orsini, 25 duc.

The lord Peter de Malvitiis, 20 duc.

Hector Tenglis from Cyprus, 8 duc.

The Nuns of the monastery of St. Cosmatius, 5 duc.

The Nuns of " Turris Speculi ", 2 duc.

Francis the Greek, 3 duc.

Paul Crispus, 3 duc.

Lady Catherine Zamphonissa, 3 duc.

Vincent Arenes, 3 duc.

The Rev. Father and lord Titus, bishop of Castro, 8 duc.

Lady Novella de Laurentiis de Anania, 5 duc.

Bartholomew Joiellerio, 3 duc.

Alexander of Pisa, 5 duc.

John of Milan, 3 duc.

The Nuns " Montis Magnanapuli ", occasionally, 5 ducats.

Raymond de Tocho de la Mirandola, 16 duc. and 6-1/3 karlins.

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49. It is also derived from the Roman Archivio di Stato, Mandati 1500-1513, fiis 23, seqq.

50. In January, 1503, he was also a pontifical condottiere : Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Julii II. Div. Cam. 1502-1508, Lib. VI, Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 13.

The noble lady Sancta de Surdis, a Roman widow, 3 duc. [51].

Bartholomew Savelli, a Roman citizen, 15 duc.

Franciscus de Colonna, after he had surrendered his city of Palestrina, 40 ducats, and Petrus de Colonna, his brother, 10 ducats [52].

Pope Alexander VI, as if unconcerned about the stringency of his own finances, took sincere pity on all those people, who felt their destitution all the more keenly, since they had formerly enjoyed honors and riches. Let the following be a sample of his compassion with them :

" Alexander VI Pope. By ' Motu proprio ', to our beloved sons, the Camerarius, the vicecamerarius, our treasurers, and the presidents and clerics of the apostolic Chamber. We charge and command by these presents that every month you order paid from the monies of the ' Sancta Cruciata ' alum mines, to our beloved daughter in Christ, Lucretia Farnese, widow of the late Francis, lord of Anguillara, eight ducats for her support, and that you make arrangements to give her every coming month an order for the said eight ducats, from the said monies, as it has been arranged so far in favor of certain other poor persons ; considering that the said Lucretia is very poor, has not wherewith to make her living and cannot in any other way support herself. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary, etc. Given in Rome, October, 1494.
' Placet ' and so we command [53].

After having, for many years, richly provided for the Illustrious Andrew Paleolgus, prince of Morea and for his family, the Pontiff defrayed his solemn funeral, by donating, on the 17th of June, 1502 [54], more than a hundred florins to Catherine, his widow.

51. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1501-1503. Lib. V. Armar. 29, no. 54, f° 219.

52. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Julii II. Div. Cam. 1502-1508. Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 69vo.

53. Gottlob, Aus der Camera apostolica, s. 143.

54. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532, at the date.

ARTICLE V. — ALMSDEEDS OF ALEXANDER VI.

Pope Alexander VI was not only generous towards the nobility driven from their eastern possessions or impoverished in Italy ; but, as Porcius states, when describing his coronation, he was known to be charitable and most liberal towards every class of men, especially towards the people of Rome [55].

We have spoken already [56] of the great and numerous works of charity which he accomplished as a Pope, by granting indulgences and fostering hospitals for the benefit of the afflicted, the poor and the sick ; and, since it would be impossible to enumerate all the deeds of liberality, which he performed as a private Christian, we shall here content ourselves with giving a few instances of his generous donations to various kinds of people.

It was the poor who attracted his first and lasting attention. Between the months of August, 1492, and of May, 1493, he ordered to be distributed among the needy of Rome, by installments, the considerable sum of three thousand one hundred and seventy-seven florins [57]. In the meantime, on the 14th of February, 1493, he required from his treasury another sum of one hundred and thirty-two ducats, or a hundred and sixty-five florins, " pro quibus dam elemosynis ", which he spent in almsgiving to special indigent persons [58].

Every year without exception, on Holy Thursday, the Pontiff made happy thirteen poor people, by giving them Easter presents and a new suit of clothes to each one. He ordered the material to be bought and made to order, at an expense

55. Hieron. Porcius, Commentarium, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. B. B. B. I. 13.
56. Vol. III. Ch. XV.
57. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1494, f° 73vo.
58. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 524, f° 158vo.

of from one hundred and thirty-eight, in the year 1494, to one hundred and eighty florins, in 1503 [59].

Pope Alexander VI was always, even when yet a cardinal, loved by the poor of Rome, because he loved them ; but when they were sick, he showed them special interest and commiseration, by making donations to the hospitals where they were received and cared for. Thus, on the 14th of February, 1494, he promised five hundred ducats to Holy Savior's hospital of Lateran, and paid to it, the same day, two hundred and fifty ducats [60]. On the following 15th of March, he gave a hundred and twenty-five ducats more [61], and on the next April the 25th, he redeemed his promise, by paying another one hundred and twenty-five ducats [62].

These contributions were certainly most liberal, but they did not satisfy the Pontiff's generous heart. On the 28th of March, he had handed over for the same charitable institution to its Guardians, Coronato de Planca and Peter Palocho, a sum of one hundred and fifty-six florins, to which he added again a like amount, on the day that he finished the payment of the five hundred ducats [63].

Another Roman hospital experienced the Pontiff's benevolence, when, on the 30th of January, 1498, he donated the sum of one hundred ducats, for the better care of the inmates of the one of St. James " de Austa " [64].

There were in Rome quite a number of convents of female religious order, and pope Alexander VI gratuitously provided them all, year after year, with the salt that they might wish for their use [65].

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59. Ibid., vol. 526. At the date of Apr. 17th, 1494, and vol. 533, May 6th, 1503.

60. Ibid., vol. 526, fo 150vo, at the date.

61. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1494, fo 98vo.

62. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 526, f° 166.

63. Ibid., at the dates of Mch. 27th and Apr. 25th, 1494.

64. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499, Armar. 29, no. 52, fo 47vo.

65. Ibid., 1501-1503, fo 9vo, and Div. Cam. passim.

From the time that the Pontiff was still a cardinal, a certain Sander Macio had been one of his faithful servants, but had now grown old and was living in the City, hardly able to support himself. When the Pope, at the end of the year 1497, learned of his circumstances, he ordered his treasurer to pay to Sander, until he should die, a monthly pension of three ducats, sufficient to procure him all the necessaries of life [66].

To a nobleman, James dei Conti, who had become indigent, he gave as a subsidy, on the 31st of July, 1499, the sum of one hundred and twenty-five florins [67].

It is a historic fact that pope Alexander VI was always very punctual in paying his soldiers ; but it is less known, that his liberality was such as to let him, at times, distribute large sums of money among them ; thus naturally securing their greater fidelity and encouraging their valor. On the 28th of November, 1496, he confided to his chancellor, Bernardinus of Tuderto, three thousand and eighty-three, and again, on the 16th of the following December, seven thousand and five hundred florins, to be divided among the men of his army. On the 22d of the latter month, he made to his condottiere, Fabritius Colonna, a present of twelve hundred and fifty florins [68], and to another hired captain, Paulus Orsini, he donated five hundred ducats, on the 26th of September, 1500 [69].

Two particulars in the Pontiff's conduct towards his soldiers are especially interesting and unique at the time. He, namely, sent out to his camp, to take care of those who had been wounded, two surgeons, to whom he paid, on November 4th,

66. Ibid., 1497-1499, Armar. 29, no. 52, f° 40.
67. Ibid., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, at the date.
68. Ibid., vol. 528, at the dates.
69. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam., an. 1497-1501. Lib. IIII ; Armar. 29, no. 53, f° 161vo.

1496, thirty gold ducats [70]. He also favored with pensions his men who had been disabled in war [71].

The munificence of pope Alexander VI, finally, manifested itself in procuring a home to the cardinals, who had none of their own in the City. We have noticed that he gave his own palace to cardinal Sforza, and built one for cardinal Francis de Borgia, on the Vatican grounds.

He paid to Stephan de Bubalis, a Roman citizen, a hundred and four florins for the rent of his house inhabited by the cardinal of Gurck, Raymund Pérault, to whom he also made a donation of nine hundred and twenty-three florins, and regularly gave to the Lateran hospital, two hundred ducats a year, from his own treasury, for the use of a house occupied by cardinal Frederic Sanseverino [72]. Other cardinals yet he lodged in his own Vatican palace.

ARTICLE VI. — ALEXANDER VI ACCUSED OF SIMONY.

His charitable liberalities might have saved pope Alexander VI from the accusation of increasing his income by illegitimate and sinful means. Yet several of his enemies, shortly after his death, and a few, in recent times, have charged him with the crime of simony, of selling for money things spiritual.

Renaissance poets already insulted his memory with pasquinades like this :

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70. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, at the date : " Dicta die solvit similiter ducs. triginta auri de Camera M° J° Andree de Regio et M^co Petro de Rapolla Cathalano, Medicis Chirurgicis destinatis in castra S. D. N.

71. Ibid., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1497-1499, Armar. 29, no. 52, f° 245.

72. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull., Div., an. IX, X, XI. Tom. V, Regest. 883, f° 51. Ibid., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 531, at the dates of June 1st, August 27th and 31st, 1499 and vol. 533, on the 2d of March, 1503.

" Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum ;
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest ".
Alexander sells the keys, the altars, Christ himself ;
He had a right to sell them, for he has bought them first.

We shall not deny the witticism of these lines, but their historical value is evidently less than naught, after we have demonstrated the untruth of the Pontiff's simoniacal election.

To prove their charge, recent writers produce Burchard [73], as relating the fierce accusations of the Spanish ambassadors, said to have upbraided the Pontiff, to his face, by asserting, after other insults and threats, that, according to universal rumor, " fama est ubique ", all benefices, offices and dignities had become venal in Rome and were bestowed on the highest bidders. It happens, however, that this passage of Burchard's Diary is a fraudulent interpolation from the misleading Infessura, as can be seen in the Annals of Raynaldi [74], and as we are cautioned by Burchard's editor himself [75]. Nor is it conceivable that such insulting language would, not only have been tolerated, but even uttered, on the occasion of the solemn obeisance of the kings of Spain to the newly elected Pontiff, when the main task of the envoys was to save the king of Naples, the cousin of Ferdinand of Spain, from a war threatened by the league of the Pope with the dukes of Venice and of Milan.

Another diarist, the Venetian Sanuto [76], tells of a similar interview of Spanish envoys with the Pope, in December, 1498. They also impute simony to him, in their anger at the Pontiff's inclination towards their enemy, Louis XII of France. The language, however, attributed to both parties is so utterly undiplomatic and abusive, that the whole tale must be considered as a fabrication. We, furthermore, ob-

73. Diar., t. II, p. 81.
74. Ad an. 1493, no. XXXII.
75. Diar., t. II, p. 77, n. 2.
76. Diar., t. II, col. 279, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 500, n.

serve that, on neither occasion, is any particular fact alleged, nor any attempt at proof of the reproach is made.

There is still another report implicating the Pontiff in simony. It is as follows, from Malipiero [77], also a habitual slanderer of pope Alexander VI. " 1494... There was lately found dead in bed, with twenty wounds, a Carmelite friar, named Master Adam of Genoa, who had preached against the simony of the Pope, and it is thought that such death was his work ". To this we here add a letter of Stephan of Castrocaro to the Hon. Commissary of Castrocaro [78], dated Mch. 24, 1493. A friend has written to me from Rome... : " Bro. Adam, the confessor of Innocent, was assassinated yesterday morning in his room, after finishing his sermon in the church of St. Augustin ; by whom, it is not known. He was struck eighteen times and not more. It is said that he preached too openly against the Marrani, the falsely converted Jews ". What an idea shall we necessarily form of Malipiero's intimations, after comparing both these accounts of friar Adam's death ?

The revilers of pope Alexander VI wisely abstain from availing themselves of the neglectful latinity of Burchard, who uses the word " vendidit ", sold, to state that the Pontiff conferred " in full consistory ", the diocese of Perugia on the prothonotary Baglioni [79], and received for it five thousand and six hundred ducats—, that is, the first year's income, according to custom and law. Nor do they substantiate their accusation by the bestowal of any particular benefice or ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; but they [80] find simony in the two disparate matters : the promotions to the cardinalitial dignity and the sale of certain offices.

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77. Annal. Venet. ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., t. VII, P. I, p. 318 : a note to p. 645 of t. II. Diar. Burchard.

78. Burchard, ibid.

79. Diar., t. III, p. 157.

80. One of the first is Panvinius, who says, Alex. VI, p. 341, " cardinales multos precio creavit.

A preliminary remark might suffice to establish the calumnious character of the former imputation. We have, indeed, noticed already that all the members of the Sacred College approved the nomination of new cardinals, and signed, with the Pontiff, the bulls of their creation. They could not have been ignorant of the commercial condition of these promotions. Each one, therefore, of that eminent body of men, among whom the bitterest enemies of the Pope recognize several prelates of integrity and great virtue, would have made himself guilty of an odious crime, by countenancing the simoniacal transactions and co-operating in then. Is it simply possible ?

The slander becomes evident, when we examine each of the three great creations of cardinals, the one of the 19th of February, 1496, being left free of such a charge. Thuasne publishes in his " Burchardi Diarium " [81] an interpolation from Infessura [82], in which the unreliable author makes the broad and vague assertion, that more than a hundred thousand ducats were extorted from the cardinals created on the 20th of September, 1493 ; and he adds a slanderer's ordinary signature : As it is said, " ut fertur ". Raynaldi copies from this passage of Infessura, but refuses to transcribe this particular untruth, which is also neglected by even Gregorovius. Pastor states that this promotion of cardinals cannot, generally, be criticized ; and he gives to understand that it was not made for the sake of money, when saying that the new cardinals were named at the request of the various Catholic princes and of the people of Rome [83].

Burchard [84] gives a list of the prelates made cardinals on

81. T. II, p. 84.
82. Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad an. 1493, no. XXIV.
83. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 300, 301.
84. Diar., t. III, p. 77.

the 28th of September, 1500 ; and affixes a number of thousands to each name as follows :

Didacus, archbishop of Seville	XXVm
James, archbishop of Oristano	V
Thomas, archbishop of Gran	XX
Peter, archbishop of Reggio, governor of the City	VII
Francis Borgia, archbishop of Cosenza, treasurer general	XII
John, archbishop of Salerno	IV
Louis, bishop of Capaccio, secretary of the Pope	V
Anthony, bishop of Cuma	XX
John Baptist, bishop of Modena, datary	XXII
Amaneus, brother-in-law of the duke of Valentinois	X
Marcus Cornaro, a Venetian	XX
Pedro Ludovico Borgia, a knight of Jerusalem	

Thuasne assumes those figures to indicate the thousands of ducats, which each cardinal had to pay for his hat, while Pastor [85] and Yriarte [86] simply assert that Burchard thus puts down the sums paid by each one. Gregorovius, however, states that Burchard does not reveal the sales of cardinalitial hats [87]. In fact, the master of ceremonies does not say that the new cardinals were to pay anything. His statement simply is : " Twelve new cardinals were created and proclaimed. " Nothing more.

Thuasne observes [88] that Raynaldi intentionally omits the sums paid by the new cardinals ; but Raynaldi was convinced that the figures placed opposite their names did not indicate the price of their promotion, but rather the amount of their yearly income, according to which they, as well as their older colleagues, were to contribute, proportionate tithes towards the warfare against the Turks. Burchard, also, shortly be-

85. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 431, n. 4.
86. Les Borgia, t. I, p. 235.
87. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 180.
88. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 77, n.

fore [89], had given a list of the revenues of the senior cardinals and of the corresponding taxes levied upon them.

That those numbers do not signify the price of the new cardinals' hats is evident enough from their great difference, one being as high as twenty-five thousand, and another as low as four thousand. If pope Alexander VI had been out to sell scarlet headgear, would he have knocked down any at four thousand ducats, after being paid for it twenty to twenty-five thousand on previous occasions ? If he was after making money, why did he sell to all classes of prelates, and not exclusively to the rich, who had the means of paying decent amounts ; to such as Samson, the Minister General of the Franciscans, whom Burchard relates [90] to have offered to pope Alexander VI thirty thousand, at one time ; thirty-five thousand, at another, and, afterwards, forty thousand ducats for a cardinal's hat ; which, however, was refused to him ?

If, moreover, the high dignity was for sale, why did not Venice proffer the cash, to have some of its citizens promoted instead of pleading the honor and the merits of the Republic [91]? Nor did the Pontiff receive twenty thousand ducats for the hat conferred on the archbishop of Gran, cardinal Bakocz, as Pastor understands Burchard ; since the same Pastor truthfully states [92], that cardinal Bakocz was admitted to the Sacred College, because of his former efforts against the Turks; and he might have added : at the recommendation of his King and of Venice—not for the sake of money.

In the beginning of March, 1503, Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador in Rome, announced the proximate creation of more cardinals, and allowed himself to add, that it would be an occasion for the Pope to make a great amount of money [93].

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89. Diar., t. III, p. 56.
90. Diar., t. II, p. 571.
91. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 5.
92. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 444.
93. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 426.

On the 31st of May, he reported to Venice the names of the prelates, who had been promoted ; the greater number of whom, especially Remolino and Casonova, he says, were of such social standing [94], that it has caused much grumbling. And he continues : " To all these cardinals their hat has cost some thousands of ducats, without regard for their relationship or services rendered ; little to some, much to others, according to the capability of each one ; but some have spent, each twenty thousand and more. It is thought, ' fassi conto ', that from them together the Pope has received from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and thirty thousand ducats ".

It is obvious that all these prophecies and assertions are mere generalities, suppositions and rumors, without any definite and positive statement of any sum of money bargained or paid ; and bearing all the marks of malicious defamation.

Gregorovius refers to a statement of Marino Giorgi, Giustinian's predecessor, to shift the reproach of simony from the Pontiff unto Cesar de Borgia [95]; but we wonder that the historian, who quotes G. L. Cataneo saying that all the new cardinals were able to pay—not, that they did pay—large sums [96], that Pastor, namely, simply copies the above mentioned relation of Giustinian, especially when we hear him, right here, admonish us, for good reasons, that this Venetian's information generally is so inaccurate, that it can be made use of with great precaution only [97].

We, after considering the testimony, or rather the lack of required testimony, can not bring a verdict of guilty against a Supreme Pontiff who made the promotion of new cardinals, and against a Sacred College, who approved their promotion

94. Not, " of such bad reputation, " as Pastor translates " qualità ", von keineswegs gutem Rufe . Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 466.

95. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 150; Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 447, n.

96. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 466, n. 2.

97. Ibid., s. 466, n. 2.

and confirmed it by their signature ; we can not condemn those eminent personages of an odious crime, upon the unwarranted and vague assertions of one man, who shows his hatred of that Pontiff on every occasion, and is the willing agent of a State, whose aim it was to rob the Church, as it did a few weeks later.

It is, on the contrary, a well established fact, that pope Alexander VI severely prosecuted all whom he knew to be guilty of simony. Cardinal John Lopez had been appointed by the Apostolic See administrator of the diocese of Carcassone ; but, in consequence of certain agreements and simoniacal promises, some of the canons of the cathedral of Carcassone had attempted to elect Peter Auxilion as their bishop, and an ecclesiastical lawsuit had followed. Cardinal Lopez informed the Pontiff that some religious and a few secular persons, interested in the simoniacal transactions, had refused to reveal them and had given false testimony before the court. On the 2d of April, 1501, the Pope issued a bull, ordering all the simonists, no matter of what rank or dignity they might be, to appear before the cardinal's procurator and to reveal to him and to the court the unholy bargains that had taken place, and to restore the losses which the cardinal had undergone. Should they refuse to obey, they were to be denounced as having incurred excommunication [98].

When the Pontiff was preparing, together with a commission of six prominent cardinals, his intended great bull of universal reform, the extirpation of simony was one of the special projects, of which, if we may judge from its wording, he himself was the author. It is as follows : " We renew in all their parts, confirm and, with full knowledge, approve all the constitutions, also the extravagants, which the Roman Pon-

98. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div. Cam., an. IV ad XI, t. IV, Regest. 882, f° 491.

tiffs, our predecessors, have issued against simoniacal depravity. And, since they do not need to be enlarged, but to be observed and revived, we have deemed it advisable to insert, word for word, in this our bull the constitution of Eugene IV that commenced with the words : " Cum detestabile ", and that Paul II has also renewed in his constitution commencing in the same manner ; and we will that it should be held as a constitution of our own. It is as follows [99].....

We might well ask how it is possible that a Pontiff, who was an avenger of simony, should have been accused of that very evil ? It may truthfully be said that pure malice, actuated by the hatred of the chastised nobility of the Pontifical States, had spared him no kind of blame and of ignominy. Yet, there is a fact, which may have co-operated not a little to this particular charge. His treasurer was, for a length of time, John Baptist Ferrari, bishop of Modena, and this prelate was so exacting and anxious to receive the last penny, possibly due to the Pontiff, that he made himself odious to the whole papal court, and, at last, to the Pope himself [100]. Burchard says, unless it be an interpolation, that he sold offices and benefices as high as possible ; but this is an evident exaggeration, since the concession of benefices and offices was not of his province ; but the avaricious doings of the employee may have cast their shadows upon the employer also.

Moreover, then as now, there may have existed a misconception in regard to the incidental expenses attached to promotions to ecclesiastical prelatures or dignities, conferred gratuitously by the Pontiff ; yet the donations to be made, according to an established custom, to certain officials and servants of the papal court, sometimes amounted to great sums [101]. When pope Alexander VI, at the request of Char-

99. Bibl. Vatic., Latin. Cod. 3883, f° 130.

100. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 215 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 59 ; Ciaconius, Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, col. 198.

101. Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apostolica, s. 194.

les VIII, had granted, as a special favor, a cardinal's hat to William Briçonnet, bishop of St. Malo, Burchard, the papal master of ceremonies, politely handed to the new cardinal the following bill of accustomed gratuities or tips, which the latter was expected to pay :

To the secret chamberlains of Our Holy Lord	C ducats
To the shield-bearer of the chapel	C
To the master of ceremonies, according to his liberality	
To the master doorkeepers	XV ducats
To the servants-at-arms	XV
To the watchmen of the iron door	IV
To the watchmen of the first door	III
To the watchmen of the secret garden	III
To the messengers of Our Holy Father	X
To the foremen of his stables	X [102]

An act of pope Alexander VI, although having no relation to anything sacred or spiritual, gave occasion to the hypocritical Seigniory of Venice and afterwards to the Venetian, Bembo, to accuse him of simony. Pope Innocent VIII, imitating the example of several of his predecessors, had instituted a number of groups or colleges of officials, whose positions or places were acquired by the payment of certain sums of money, such as the " Plumbatores " of Apostolic bulls ; and he had likewise increased the number of secretaries from six to thirty. This number was still insufficient, and the regular secretaries hired common scribes, unreliable and irresponsible, to perform their duties. The consequences of this system were that, of late, falsifications or forgeries had been detected in papal letters, and that the delivery of these letters was generally slow and dilatory.

To obviate these evils, and, at the same time, to augment

102. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p 224.

the usefulness and the stateliness of the Roman court, the Pontiff resolved to establish a new college of eighty-one—not of eighty, as Giustinian says [103],—officials, whose duty it would be to draw up all papal briefs, and who should, each one, sign his name on the outside fold of the document written by him. He gave them the name of Writers of Apostolic Briefs, which he raised to an honorary title ; he assigned them such monthly payments as would secure them a high interest of their money invested, and granted them certain privileges and exemptions, which were considered to be of great value. He also gave them the right of resigning their place in favor of any competent person, who should, however, upon his admission, pay fifty ducats into the papal treasury.

It was stipulated that the candidates should be men of integrity and qualified to perform their duties. More than a hundred and fifty was the number of applicants [104], from whom the most suitable were selected. Giustinian, and after him, Pastor, assert [105] " that the purchase price was set at seven hundred and sixty ducats; but the papal bull states that the candidates who had been admitted, had, together, liberally paid a sum of sixty thousand ducats, to relieve the Pontiff's financial burdens ". In consideration of this generous contribution, the Pope secured the new dignitaries the full amount of their monthly emoluments, and bound himself and his successors to restore to them the whole sum of sixty thousand ducats, in case that their office should ever be revoked [106].

The Venetian ambassador had in due time advised his government of the Pontiff's resolve to establish the new college of officials, and the Seigniory understood but too well

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103. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 453.
104. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 453, 460.
105. Villari, ibid., p. 453 ; Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 465.
106. See Document 207.

that the consequent financial increase of the papal treasury was a powerful means to oppose their ambitious designs upon the province of Romagna. They were, moreover, at the time, on unfriendly terms with the Pope on the subject of ecclesiastical preferments ; for they claimed the presentation to benefices located within their territory, provisorily designated Venetian clerics for them, and then insisted with the Pontiff, to have their nominations confirmed. Pope Alexander VI always jealous of the church liberties, considered their proceeding as an encroachment on his own personal rights, and, for this very reason, often refused their urgent requests. Marin Sanuto relates that their ambassador, Paolo Cappello, on his return from Rome, in the year 1500, had his pockets full of unaccepted commendations and rejected pleadings. It is no wonder if, in his disappointment, he asserted that all benefices were for sale in Rome—only not, to Venetian subjects [107]. Exasperated, the Venetian " Decemviri " took the hostile measure of promulgating an edict, forbidding every one of their citizens or subjects to go and buy in Rome any office or benefice, under pain of forfeiting all their possessions and of being exiled from the republic [108].

Cardinal Bembo, whom Catalani already denounced as an unreliable author [109] ; but who was a staunch Venetian, approvingly reports the action of his Decemviri, as expressing the benefices only [110]. Aegidius of Viterbo, less injurious, is no less scandalized on this occasion. The Pope, he says, invented a new college of eighty writers of briefs, and then,

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107. Albèri, Relazioni debli ambasciatori Veneti, ser. 2, t. III, p. 7 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 483, 484.

108. Villari, ibid., p. 455 and n. 1.

109. Prefazioni critiche agli Annali di Lud. Muratori, p. DXCIV : Bembo non è autor canonico.

110. Hist. Venetae, Lib. VI, p. 217.

by exaggerated generalization, he adds : Nothing was left undone to procure money, everything had become venal [111].

The juxtaposition, however, in the obnoxious proclamation, of both benefices and offices, the sale of the former being an act of simony, justly aroused the indignation of pope Alexander VI [112]. He summoned the Venetian envoy to the palace and complained before him, saying that his Seigniory had done him an injustice and cast disgrace on him [113]; and he pointed out the essential difference between receiving a benefice and buying an office [114]. Giustinian, thereupon, admitted the blamelessness of the Pontiff and assuaged his ill disposition [115].

He added, in his dispatch to Venice, that to all in Rome it appeared harsh to forbid the buying of offices, which were not denied to lay people, were a great advantage for all who wished to belong to the court, and would procure them a living and a hope of advancement. At the end of his long communication, the envoy urged the Seigniory to reconsider and recall their unjustified decree [116].

The purchase of a place among the Writers of Apostolic Briefs was a purely temporal affair, the buying at a determined sum of a real life insurance ; the purchase price being refunded by monthly secured installments, during the remainder of the Writer's life. The annual interest of money invested in papal offices is reckoned to be ten, fourteen, up to twenty-nine per cent [117]. Secondary benefits were his position

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111. Hist. XX Saeculorum, f° 327.

112. Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, I, p. 457.

113. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 459 : Cerca de farne inzuria e vergogna.

114. Villari, p. 460 : Pregava niun che accettasse i beneficii da lui, nè anche che comprasse i officii.

115. Ibid. : Justificai la Beatitudine sua, che restó molto quieta.

116. Ibid., pp. 460, 461.

117. Gottlob, Aus der Camera apostolica, s. 250, 251.

as an honored member of the pontifical court, and the privileges and exemptions attached to it, besides the expectation of benefices and of other favors, should he be an ecclesiastic [118].

The system of vendible offices had also its advantages for the papal government, since it afforded, in specially urgent circumstances, the aid of great sums of money, without burdening its subjects with new imposts and taxes ; and, occasionally, of valuable income, at the resale of offices vacated by the death of former incumbents. It had, however, its disadvantages also, because it was, in reality, but a renewed borrowing, that was bound, some day, when the regular income of the papal treasury should become insufficient to provide for the ordinary expenses and for the accruing interest, to bring the pontifical finances into distress.

The remarks just made on the institution of the College of Writers of Apostolic Briefs are equally applicable to the numerical extension of the office of Collector of the taxes or dues for papal bulls and briefs, which was made by pope Alexander VI and the cardinals, on the 30th of January, 1496. No small advantages resulted from it towards the earlier expedition of pontifical letters and the prevention of frauds that had taken place in the past ; but the office was essentially a temporal institution and a life insurance payable once, and repaid by well secured monthly installments during the life of the purchaser, and procuring to him, the privileges and honors of a member of the papal court. The sum paid at an officer's appointment was also to be returned in case that the institution should be revoked at any future time [119].

We shall not give the history of the venal offices of the

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118. Moroni, Dizionario, vol. 87. Art. Vocabili.

119. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Bull., an. V, VI, tom. XXXVII, Regest. 808, fo 100vo.

Roman administration, but we may remark that it commenced long before the reign of pope Alexander VI, and was continued, after him by the Pontiffs, Julius II and especially by Leo X, who sold no less than twelve hundred offices [120], and by their successors. It may be added that the same system obtained in the civil government of the duchy of Milan, under king Louis XII [121], and Sigismondo justly remarks [122] that the Roman Court will not be blamed for the sales of public offices by anyone, who does not forget that such sales are an ancient financial institution of all civil governments.

120. Ranke, Histoire de la Papauté pendant les XVI^me^ et XVII^me^ siècles, t. II. Liv. IV, § 2.

121. Daru, Hist. de la Républ. de Venise, t. III, p. 76.

122. Le Storie de' suoi tempi, p. XXII.

CHAPTER VII.

Alexander VI accused of deceit and murder.

ARTICLE I. — ACCUSED OF DECEIT.

Addington Symonds approvingly quotes [1] the words of Machiavelli [2] : " Alexander never did anything but deceive men, nor did he think of anything else, and always found suitable matter for his practice " ; but he implicitly refutes the sweeping accusation when he adds : " Nevertheless his wiles were always successful in the way he wished ". If, indeed, he was not sincere and true to his word, how could he continue to succeed to the last, as he did, at a time when mendacity and deception were rife among the kings and princes, who were applying the principles taught by " Il Principe " of Machiavelli himself ? How could his pretended artifices continue to ensnare such men, at a time when the only dishonor was to be defeated by intrigue and the only glory to conquer by any means, even the most disgraceful. " Such was the conviction of Louis XI, of Henry VII and of Ferdinand of Castille ", Cantu says, " and of Italy, that gave the most frequent examples of such dishonest policy and became a victim of it " [3].

The Venetian Seigniory ordered, on the 10th of October, 1503, their ambassador in Rome to secretly try and gain the Orsini for the cause of the Spaniards against the French ; and on the 20th of the same month, they commanded their envoy to the French court, to tell that Venice was highly displeased

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1. Renaissance in Italy, p. 327.
2. Il Principe, Cap. XVIII, p. 58.
3. Histoire Univers., Liv. XV, Ch. II, p. 97.

at the news of Bartholomew d'Alviano and of the Orsini having joined the kings of Spain [4].

In the year 1495, Maximilian wrote to pope Alexander VI, advising him to be on his guard, not to fall into the treacherous hands of king Charles VIII, in whom he never had placed any confidence [5].

The King of the Romans was considered as a traitor at the French court, while Louis XII valued his treaties with Germany as a scrap of paper.

Maximilian, although on the point of concluding a family alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, accuses him of treason, for promising to defend Alfonso II of Naples against Charles VIII, while abandoning Alfonso, as he actually did ; nay more, of even now allying with France and against Germany, in its probable war to retain the imperial crown [6].

Ferdinand of Spain was informed that Louis XII complained of having been twice deceived by him ; and he exclaimed : " He lies, I have deceived that rascal more than ten times " [7].

Pope Alexander VI lived in the midst of all those and more perfidious princes. How could he escape the blame of insincerity and faithlessness from their paid and biased historiographers ?

It is remarkable, however, how the Pontiff enjoyed and continued to enjoy the confidence of nearly all his contemporaries who, the less upright they were themselves, the more suspicious they naturally were of others ; how they sought him as a party to the numerous alliances formed during his reign. Machiavelli relates [8] that no agreement was concluded between Florence and the Pope ; " but not ", he remarks,

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4. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 473.
5. Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv., Cod. K. K. f° 65.
6. Vienna, ibid., f° 82.
7. Cantu, Hist. Univers., Liv. XV, Ch. II, p. 97.
8. Sopra il Provvedere danari, p. 292.

through any fault of the Republic ", although it always was a political adversary of the Pontiff.

From Çurita we learn that the astute king of Spain placed in Alexander's integrity so much faith, that he offered to leave to his arbitration the settlement of his discord with king Louis XII [9].

While the conspirators of La Magione were trying to ruin the Captain General of the Church, the Pope, to facilitate their accord with Cesar de Borgia, promised good will towards the Orsini barons, and Giustinian relates how he faithfully kept his word ; how, when the Orsini were attacked by the Savelli, in the beginning of December, 1502, he favored the former and kept their enemies from making further advance [10].

On the same occasion, Julius Orsini interceded for the safety of his relatives, the Bentivoglios, and the Pontiff gave him good hope, although he had, until then, resolved to punish, at any cost, the rebellious tyrants of Bologna. Julius Orsini had received no warranty whatever, yet so certain was he of the Pope's faithfulness, that, when asked what was to become of Giovanni Bentivoglio, he answered : " It will be well with him ", and when asked again, he replied : " I tell you, he will fare well, nothing will be undertaken against him and he will remain in his State " [11]. Nor was Julius disappointed in his reliance on the Pontiff's promise. The Bentivoglios remained undisturbed.

Thuasne intimates [12] that pope Alexander VI violated the treaty, into which he had entered with the Venetians and Ludovico the Moro against the warlike policy of Ferdinand of Naples ; that he abandoned his allies and united with the

9. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. IV, Cap. 68, p. 241vo ; Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 62.

10. Villari, Disp., vol. I, p. 269.

11. Villari, Disp., vol. I, p. 147.

12. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 644, n.

common enemy. But Thuasne states himself that the Pontiff's intention, known by his colleagues, had been to scare Ferdinand and to force justice upon him. And now that his desire was accomplished, and the Neapolitan king was willing to keep the peace, was the Pope obliged to repel his friendly proposals, to transform a defensive treaty into an offensive alliance, as the regent of Milan not unlikely wanted him to do, and to go to war without any further motive ?

King Charles VIII, then master of Rome, imposed unjust and disgraceful conditions on pope Alexander VI, who could not but submit to them ; but, as they were drawn up in the form of an agreement, he faithfully performed them, even to the virtual loss of his States and almost of his honor itself. An incident, however, of no real importance, the flight of Cesar de Borgia from the French camp at Velletri, has been stigmatized as a treachery of the Pontiff. Already Philippe de Commines, French envoy in Venice, wrote to Ludovico the Moro : " If it is true what they say ", namely, of Cesar's escape, " the Pope proves to be a man of bad faith " [13]. Yet, the ambassador of Milan reported to Ludovico, from the same place and at the same time : " We learn from Rome that the Pope has shown great displeasure at the flight of the cardinal of Valencia from Velletri : that he has ordered to carefully search where he may have retired, and to make him return ; because he wants to prove to the King that he intends to observe the articles agreed upon between them " [14].

As on this occasion, so do the Pontiff's acts and proceedings fully establish his fidelity to the political and all other duties he ever assumed, and justify the confidence that was universally given him. The couple of contemporaries who profess to doubt his word, accuse him of a fault hardly ever to be

13. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Lettres et Negociations de Commines, t. II, p. 161.

14. Ibidem.

found in a deceitful or treacherous man, and expose to betrayal a confident and openhearted person. The Venetian ambassador Polo Capello asserts that the Pope could not keep any secret [15], and his successor, Giustinian, that he could not hide his emotions, talked too much, and betrayed himself when he willed it the least [16]. Neither does the charge seem to be without foundation ; for his apologist, Celadonius, publicly repeats it, a few days after the Pontiff's death : " It was certainly a cause of misfortune to him, that, in his exalted position, he could hide nothing " [17].

Giustinian does not, it is true, impeach the Pontiff's fidelity to treaties, but he repeatedly accuses him of falsity and deceitful intentions ; but, in every case, facts and events establish the veracity of the papal statements doubted or contested by him. Thus, when in the consistory of November 14th, 1502, the Pontiff ordered the reading of letters by which king Louis XII threatened the duke of Urbino and the other conspirators of La Magione, Giustinian supposes the forgery of those letters [18]. The Pope assured in the same assembly that already a number of French troops were moving and that many more would arrive to help Cesar de Borgia ; and he added that he was in hopes of seeing the conspired enemies come to an agreement. All this was verified by actual facts, and yet Giustinian remarks that all those announcements were made from bragging more than from truth [19].

Pope Alexander VI had complained with Giustinian of the many hostile acts of the count of Pitigliano, but finally said that he was willing to forgive and to forget. Still the am-

15. Tuttavia il papa non può tener nulla cellato : Albèri, Relationi, ser. 2, vol. III, p. 10 ; von Reumont, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 206.

16. Villari, Disp., vol. I, p. XXXV.

17. English Histor., Rev., t. VII, p. 311.

18. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 191.

19. Ibid., p. 194.

bassador finishes his dispath by making the insulting remark: " The better were his last words, which gave hope of peace, the more doubt they call forth in those who are somewhat acquainted with his natural disposition, which is to make the best promises to those whom he intends to injure the most " [20]. Here again the charge is historically false, for never since did the Pontiff attack the count of Pitigliano, but allowed his conquered rebels of Ceri to take refuge with him.

We might relate several more instances where, in spite of the Venetian ambassador's contradiction, facts testify to the sincerity and veracity of the Pope ; but let it be observed in general that Giustinian is ready to blame any Pontiff who dares to oppose the intrigues of his ambitious masters. Of the court of pope Julius II he says : " One cannot rely on anything that is asserted, because matters are treated with the same cunning and deceit, as at the time of pope Alexander " [21].

We should not wonder at those and similar criminations of an envoy who tried to mislead pope Alexander VI and to assist his enemies, and who was the zealous servant of a Seigniory that, envious of the papal successes, shamefully betrayed and offered further to betray to king Louis XII the confiding Pontiff, who, for the peace of Italy, had proposed to form with Venice a new league against further invasions of the French. They, indeed, wrote on the 4th of April, 1503, to their ambassador in France : " We will and command that, when you shall be all alone with the King, you shall, in our name, tell him that these last days we have been, in divers manners, enticed by His Holiness to enter into a new confederation with him and with the kings of Spain. You shall most secretly make these proposals known to His Most Christian Majesty, and very earnestly request him to keep the

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20. Villari, Disp., vol. II, p. 70. | 21. Ibid., vol. III, p. 13.

secret, so that we may continue to inform him, as matters shall develop in the course of time [22].

ARTICLE II. — ALEXANDER ACCUSED OF ROBBING AND POISONING.

Pope Alexander VI stands accused of having committed crimes more odious yet : robbery and murder; for the purpose of filling the treasury of the Roman Church. Bembo asserts [23] that after the death of the Venetian cardinal, Zeno, he took away, " abstulit " two hundred and sixty pounds in gold, which that cardinal had hidden in the walls of a sacred edifice in Ancona ; and Giustinian assures us [24] that, no sooner had he, during the night, heard of the death of the other Venetian cardinal, Michiel, than he sent orders to the governor of Rome ; and before daylight, the whole of Michiel's house was plundered. In truth, the Pontiff inherited, not only from these two, but from other cardinals also and from prelates of the Roman court. Was it in spite of justice and law, or was it in accordance with them ?

Already in the fourth century, a law was made by a council of Carthage, to forbid to clerics the making of a last will ; but it was not universal and soon fell into desuetude. This rule was confirmed at the general council of Lateran, in the year 1179, ordering that no temporal goods of clergymen, acquired through their ecclesiastical career or ministry, should be disposed of by last will, but be returned to the Church [25]. This canon was often modified, but long continued to exert its effect in the church of Rome.

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22. Villari, Disp., vol. I, p. 447, n.
23. Hist. Venet., Lib. V, p. 185-186.
24. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 474.
25. Woker, Das Kirchliche Finanzwesen ; Rohrbacher, Hist. de l'Eglise, t. XVI, p. 364.

On the 10th of November, 1463, pope Pius II ordered that the whole estate of all dying Roman prelates should be devoted to the expenses of war against the Turks [26]. His successor, Paul II, revoked that constitution on the 8th of November of the following year, and decreed that, according to general canon law, the cardinals and other members of the court could, by last will, dispose of their patrimonial goods and of those acquired by their personal industry; but, without special permission, could not will away such possessions as were obtained from the Church ; one half of which should be set aside in favor of the benefices from which they originated, and the other half, paid into the papal treasury, for the benefit of holy wars against the Turks [27].

When looking through the Register 525 of the Vatican Archives [28], we find that pope Paul II granted, from time to time, to cardinals and other prelates the required permission to dispose by testament of all their possessions, whether obtained from patrimony, personal industry or ecclesiastical benefices. But he also kept the right to revoke the allowances given, and to annul a cardinal's will already made ; as he did in regard to the testament of cardinal Scarampo, and appropriated his heritage [29].

That papal consent was still, in pope Alexander's time, an essential condition of the validity of a Roman prelate's last will, appears from the fact that, following the example of Sixtus IV, he made, on October 6th, 1494, an exception in favor of all the members of his court, who should be willing to build in, or within ten miles from, Rome ; he allowed them to make a last will, and provided that, should they die intestate, their legal heirs would inherit all such buildings, even

26. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXV, 94, f° 188vo.
27. Ibid., f° 193.
28. Pauli II. Secret., an. I, II. Lib. II.
29. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 216.

though erected with money made by them at the court or derived from benefices [30].

He, afterwards, declared that, " according to an ancient custom observed at the Roman Curia, all the possessions and monies of courtiers, who enjoy ecclesiastical benefices, belong to the apostolic chamber ". Consequently, he ordered the governor of the City to deliver to his treasury all the goods of the late Garcias de Algazar, who had, besides some offices, possessed many benefices also [31].

As a proof that the right of the Pontiff to inherit from cardinals and court officials was still in full vigor, is the attempt of the Conclave of Pius III to abolish such right by their election capitulations [32].

It is a well-known fact that, after pope Alexander VI, Julius II continued to appropriate the inheritances of his deceased cardinals [33].

The Pontiff was not unreasonable in exacting his rights. When, in the year 1495, he learned from official writings, that Baptist Pinelli, archbishop of Cosenza, was, at his death, heavily indebted to his brother, he relinquished his own claims to the inheritance, and left it entirely to his heir and creditor [34]. Yet, it was one of his principles that, " as he favored others in their just demands, so was he bound not to neglect the rights of his Spouse, the Church " [35].

We should not wonder, therefore, if he claimed for the treasury of the Church the money that had been left by

30. Bibl. Vaticana, Ottobon., Cod. 2528, f° 89.

31. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Julii II. Div. Camerae, 1502-1508, Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 84vo : Cum ex antiqua consuetudine et observantia roman. curie, quecumbona et pecunie curialium qui beneficia ecclesiastica obtinent ad cameram apostolicam pertineant ".

32. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Politicorum Varia, vol. XX, f° 157vo.

33. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Jul. II. Div. Cam., an. 1502-1508 ; Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 111vo; Burckardt, Cultur der Renaissance, Bd. I, s. 112.

34. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, II, III. Lib. III. Regest. 869, f° 268.

35. Ibid., f° 271.

cardinal Baptist Zeno, who died in Padua, on the 7th of May 1501. Burchard makes the following report [36]: " It is said that Zeno, having papal permission, made his will, leaving a value of twenty-five thousand ducats for pious purposes, and dividing the remainder, a hundred thousand ducats, between the Roman Church and the Venetian Senate, to be used against the Turks. But the Pope wrote to the Seigniory that he had revoked the authority to make the will, which, consequently, was invalid ; and that, by right, all the cardinal's former possessions belonged to His Holiness. He had, therefore, given orders, under pain of excommunication, to all who had them in hand, to deliver them, within a certain time, to the Holy Father ". So Burchard says, and there is no author to contradict him. It is evident that the Pontiff's proceedings, on this occasion, were not like those of a robber.

Burchard further explains the pretended larceny related by Bembo. Cardinal Zeno, he says, had a chamberlain who served him well. He, therefore, sent to Ancona two chests containing twenty thousand ducats, to be guarded in a convent of nuns; and, stipulating that, at his death, they should belong to his chamberlain. It happened, however, that the latter died before his master, and the cardinal never made any other disposition of the hidden treasure. When the Pope heard of these chests, he sent to Ancona, and received them together with the above mentioned monies, he says.

Whether the Pontiff ever saw any of these monies left by the cardinal in Padua, is a question ; for, in April of the year 1503, he learned from one of his agents, that the Seigniory had tried to induce cardinal Michiel to return to Venice, with the intention of swallowing up his riches, as they had, it is pointedly affirmed, taken in those of the deceased cardi-

36. Diar., t. III, p. 136.

nal Baptist Zeno. This, it is true, was denied by the Venetian ambassador, but the Pope believed it and was indignant [37].

Pope Alexander VI became, shortly after, the heir of another cardinal, of John Lopez. There is an entry in the books of his private treasurer [38], stating that he had received seven hundred and two florins from the inheritance of the cardinal of Capua, Lopez.

Burckardt writes [39] that, according to Sismondi, cardinal Lopez died of poison, administered by the Pope, of whom he had been, for many years, the confidential friend; but this solitary assertion of the recent publicist is sufficiently reproved by the plain relation of Burchard, the eyewitness, who states [40] : " On Thursday, the 5th of August, 1501, at the 7th hour, the lord John, cardinal of Capua, gave up the ghost, in the apostolic palace, in the room occupied by him. May his soul rest in peace. Before his death, he chose to be buried in the chapel of Calixtus, in St. Peter's basilica, and had been unwilling to make a last will, but left all his effects to the disposition and absolute discretion of His Holiness, the Pope ". He had died while the Pontiff was in Frascati, on his return from more than a week's visit to Sermoneta and the Colonna castles [41].

Cardinal John Baptist Ferrari, former treasurer of the Pope, bishop of Modena and archbishop of Capua, died in Rome, at the apostolic palace, on the 20th of July, 1502 [42]. Burchard reports that he had become ill on Sunday, the 3d; that he refused to be bled, to use clysters, to take sirups, pills or any remedies ; but, the fourth or fifth day of his sickness, he ate a soup of bread and of very good Corsican wine and drank

37. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, pp. 480, 481.
38. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532 : An adjunct of a few pages from Ventura, Epus Massanus.
39. Cultur der Renaissance, Bd. I.
40. Diar., t. III, p. 155.
41. Ibid., pp. 153, 155.
42. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 212.

wine. On Sunday, the 10th, he made his confession, and received the Holy Eucharist the following day. This day his intermittent fever became continuous until Saturday, the 16th, when it returned to its former nature. He had several able physicians, who visited him constantly, but could not prevail on him to take medicine, before the 17th, when he took a sixth or an eighth part of the prescription, which did him more harm than good. Burchard adds that he was unwilling to make a last will [43].

From such a report it would seem that the cardinal died a perfectly natural death ; and this conclusion is justified by the dispatch which Giustinian sent to Venice on the 12th of July, saying that the cardinal of Modena was somewhat better than the previous day, although he was not free of much danger, if we must believe the physicians [44].

On the 11th, the ambassador had written, however, that cardinal Ferrari was ill, with little hope of improvement; and he had remarked that there was some doubt about poison, " si dubita di veleno ". By his letter of the 19th, he reported that the Pontiff had visited the dying cardinal ; and, before leaving, had ordered an inventory to be taken of all his effects [45], which, he knew, would soon come into his possession, but were now in danger of being stolen.

At the next consistory, the deceased cardinal's archdiocese of Capua was bestowed on the one of Este ; and the diocese of Modena, on his brother [46], and the remainder of his benefices were divided among his nephews and the members of his household. Giustinian says that the lion's share was given to a certain Sebastian Pinzon, who had been the cardinal's secretary, and now received his benefices, " in pretium sanguinis ", as a reward of his crime ; for, he adds, there were

43. Ibid., pp. 212, 213.
44. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 55.
45. Villari ibid., pp. 54, 59.

evident signs that Ferrari had died of poison and that Sebastian had been the executioner. The ambassador, who wanted Venetian subjects to be favored, allowed himself to complain of the disposition already made of the benefices ; but the Pontiff replied : We have deemed it a matter of conscience to remunerate the relatives and servants of the cardinal [47]; clearly indicating that he had no idea of Giustinian's suspicion of poison.

This suspicion was afterwards turned into a fact against the Pontiff by Panvinius [48], and by Gregorovius, who asserts that Ferrari was killed by the unfailing white powder of the Borgias [49]—which always did its deadly work, either at once or after any length of time, to suit the needs of hostile writers; but it is relegated to-day among the myths of history. Pastor does not even mention the Pope on the occasion of Ferrari's death ; and, as if Cesar de Borgia were accused, declares that the poisoning of that cardinal by Cesar is very uncertain, " sehr zweifelhaft " [50].

Ciaconius and Vedriani [51] relate that Sebastian Pinzon, arrested because of other misdeeds, by order of pope Leo X, was also accused of the murder of cardinal Ferrari ; that in the midst of torture he denied any participation in the crime, but afterwards confessed—not unlikely to escape further torments. Yet he did not implicate pope Alexander VI in the misdeed.

The sole authority for this charge against the Pontiff is Giustinian, an avowed enemy, who has doubts about poison

46. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 213 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 60.

47. Villari, ibid., p. 61.

48. Burckardt, Cultur der Renaissance, Bd. I, Panvinius, Epitome Pontiff., p. 359.

49. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 471.

50. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 466, n. 1. He refers to Atti e Memorie per le provincie Modenesi et Parmensi, VIII, 39.

51. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. III, p. 199, and Vita dei Cardinali Modenesi, ap. Villari, Dispacci, t. I, p. 61, n. 1.

or to describe ; and he finally affirms, without any ground at first, then sees evident signs of it, but has none to mention or reason, not only that poison was administered, but also by whom and at whose orders ; and all this in spite of the contrary indications of his own and especially of Burchard's account of the cardinal's illness and death.

Cardinal John Baptist Orsini died on the 22d of February, 1503, after a fortnight of high fever. Some later writers assert, on hearsay, that he was a victim of poison ; but those present in Rome, at the time, like Burchard and the ambassadors of Venice, of Florence and of Ferrara, simply stated his demise, without mentioning poison or any other violence. Moreover, his attending physicians testified, under oath, that he had died a natural death.

In the early of morning of the 11th of April, 1503, a nephew of cardinal Michiel came in tears to tell the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, of the unexpected death of his uncle, who had, for two days, suffered from an indisposition of the stomach with vomiting, and of some flux of the bowels. Great suspicion arose at once that the cardinal had been poisoned [52].

Michiel was a Venetian citizen and bishop of Verona and of Porto. He had made no last will, and, as a consequence, the Roman Pontiff should inherit his riches, which were considerable, and were, in the absence of any other arrangement adjudged to the papal treasury by the unanimous vote of the Sacred College [53]. It is uncertain how much money the Pontiff obtained from the cardinal. One author mentions some exaggerated amount and another a sum still greater. Giustinian disbelieved the Pope complaining, on the 13th of April, that he had, until then, received less than twenty-four thousand ducats. The Pontiff asked him whether the cardinal

52. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 474.

53. Villari, ibid., vol. I, p. 479; vol. II, p. 11.

had any money in Venice and the ambassador answered decidedly, No. The Pope continued to say that he understood an agent of the cardinal, Thomas by name, to be coming from Venice with a great quantity of money. Before he had ceased to speak, he got the news that Thomas had left Venice, indeed, and was in Cività Castellana. Afterwards Giustinian informs his Seigniory, and writes : " I have learned from good source that Thomas has only a thousand ducats with him, and has left ten thousand in Verona [54].—Who had been telling an untruth ?

Afterwards a certain Asquinio de Colloredo had begun to be suspected of the murder of cardinal Michiel and, according to Giustinian, doubts had been cast upon the honor of the deceased pope Alexander VI and of the duke of Valentinois, who were just then the objects of the hatred and revenge of the nobility of Rome and of the Pontifical States. The ambassador wrote, on the 17th of December, 1503 : " Asquinio has been arrested, and his two accomplices have taken to flight " [55].

On the 6th of March, 1504, Asquinio de Colloredo, a cleric of Aquileja, declared guilty, was degraded in Rome and beheaded on the 16th. While his sentence was read, he interrupted several times, to say that his act had been directed by pope Alexander and the duke of Valentinois, that he had committed it unwillingly and had not received any money [56]. Giustinian reports that he also tried to implicate certain Spanish cardinals [57].

This incident has offered an occasion to several writers, generally hostile to the Pontiff, to accuse him and his Captain general of the murder of cardinal Michiel. So does Sanuto [58],

54. Villari, ibid., vol. I, pp. 478, 479.
55. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 322, 343.
56. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 338.
57. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 351.
58. ap. Ranke, I, s. 52, n.

probably from Giustinian's relation, incriminate Alexander VI; and so, the Venetian Bembo [59]. Gregorovius asserts that the cardinal became the victim of the white powder of the Borgias, and his riches, their spoils [60]. von Reumont is less explicit in regard to the guilt of the Pope or of Cesar de Borgia [61]. Ciaconius [62] omits mentioning the Pontiff's name, but asserts that, through the artifices and advice of Cesar de Borgia, the cardinal was incarcerated in the castle of Sant' Angelo, and soon after miserably died of poison. Finally, Pastor exonerates pope Alexander VI, and assures us that late researches [63], which absolve Cesar of many misdeeds attributed to him by the hatred of that time, find him guilty of the death of cardinal Michiel [64].

These various opinions show that little credence has been accorded to Asquinio de Colloredo's crafty plea for pardon. He well knew that, at the time of wild hatred against the Borgias, at the time of an administration hostile to the so-called Marrani Pope and cardinals, his only hope of escaping punishment, was to cast new odium upon the objects of public revenge, to accuse a Pontiff defenseless in his grave, cardinals fugitives in Naples, and Cesar, a prisoner in the fortress of Sant' Angelo. Had he been as wise as wicked, he would not have added that neither the Pontiff nor Cesar de Borgia paid him any money for the commission of his crime ; for, if they had taken part in it, they should not have refused to pay for his silence, and save their honor. Much less would they have assigned to Asquinio two accomplices of the foul deed, or have allowed him to request their help, or by dong so, they

59. Hist. Venetae, Lib. VI, p. 217.
60. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 471, 487.
61. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. III, s. 259.
62. Vitae Pontiff. Roman., t. II, col. 1114.
63. He relates in note only the old statements of Giustinian.
64. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 466.

would have incurred the evident danger of making public their imputed crime.

The murderer did not, however, obtain any mercy by his shrewd accusation; nor did his judges believe him, as appears from the fact that they did not molest Cesar de Borgia, who was already detained for political causes, and would not have escaped an investigation, to say the least, if the startling charge of murdering a cardinal had had any appearance of likelihood. And we, can we justly or even reasonably condemn a great Pope, and a distinguished man, Cesar de Borgia, upon the solitary incrimination of an interested wretch found to be guilty of death ?

In his brief sent to the kings of Spain, on the 21st of December, 1503, pope Julius II intimates a possible complicity of cardinal Remolino in the death of cardinal Michiel ; but does not mention the name of Cesar de Borgia nor of pope Alexander VI, any further than to say that, " according to rumor, the cardinal bishop of Porto had been killed with poison, at the time of his predecessor, Alexander VI, of happy memory " [65].

Guicciardini intimates that pope Alexander VI co-operated also in the death of cardinal Giovanni de Borgia the elder, who was his first-cousin ; for he asserts that the Borgias did not spare even their nearest relatives [66]. His authority, if he had any, probably was Giustinian, who was, however, more restricted and less positive, when calling it a public rumor, that the cardinal of Monreale had been sent to eternity in the same way as all the others [67], and that the duke of Valentinois was blamed for it [68]. We have spoken already of this cardinal's death and shall not refute those imputations here over

65. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Julii II. Brev., Armar. 39, t. XXII, f° 4.
66. Storia d'Italia, vol. II, Lib. VI, p. 75.
67. Who were these ?
68. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 94.

again ; but we may, on this occasion, contradict a common allegation of the Pontiff's enemies, that, namely, his greatest preoccupation was to enrich his relatives. Had he given to his cousin, Giovanni de Borgia, the right of making a last will, he could have procured to his nearest bloodrelations a heritage of a hundred thousand ducats [69] ; but he granted him no such allowance, and secured all that he had left to the public treasury of the Church.

Other accusations of murder, hardly worth mentioning, were further made against the Pontiff. Giovanni Gatto, the head of one of the rival factions of Viterbo, was slain in a castle of that neighborhood. He possessed thirty thousand ducats and had been hostile to the Pope. These were the two reasons why it was said, " si dice ", in Rome that Alexander VI had ordered his death [70].

Malipiero [71], after stating the false rumor that king Charles VIII had manifested his design of convoking a council to depose the Pope because of his simony, in order to confirm his report, goes on to tell how a Carmelite friar, who had preached against simony, was lately found in Rome, lying dead in bed, covered with twenty wounds ; and it is thought, " se judica ", that the crime was committed through the Pope's doing !

It has, finally, been pretended that pope Alexander VI died of the very poison, which he, or Cesar de Borgia, had destined to Hadrian Castellesi and to a dozen of other cardinals ; but of this subject enough has been said in the Chapter on the Pontiff's demise.

de l'Epinois justly states that the Pope has been accused without proof of having committed assassinations [72]. And

69. Villari, ubi supra.
70. Cappelli, Atti e Memorie. . per le provin. Moden. e Parmen., t. IV, p. 372.
71. Annal. Venet. in Archiv. Stor. Ital., t. VII, P. I, p. 318.
72. Revue des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 423.

how, indeed, could a man of the natural dispositions, that were those of pope Alexander VI, be supposed capable of perpetrating such crimes ? Jerome Porcius described him, at the time of his elevation, as absolutely free from all inclination to harshness or violence, " a sevitia omni penitus alienus " [73], and the orator of Genoa addressed him, saying : Thou hast been called by the vote of all the cardinals to the supreme pontificate, because of thy accustomed gentleness and great learning, " mansuetudine previa " [74].

Raphael of Volterra, who had seen the Pontiff at work, states that he used to obtain the good will of his adversaries through his patience and his readiness to be appeased ; that he never deprived of their dignities the cardinals who left his court, although he had reasons to suspect their loyalty, and so allayed the insolence of the French, that they departed from Rome as best friends. So gentle was he with the people, that, in the midst of all the destructive wars of the Roman barons, he continues, there is a fact almost incredible, that, namely, no tumult whatever arose in the city of Rome, nor did we see any arms taken up against him.

The kindness of his heart was exemplified every Tuesday, when he was giving audience to the humblest persons, granting them their just requests, consoling them, and allowing no one to depart in sadness [75].

Great was his compassion when he gave an asylum in his States and City to the Jews, who were exiled from Spain and from nearly every other country, and great his inclination to forgiveness even towards the Marrani or falsely converted among them.

A dispatch dated the 1st of February, 1502, from the orator

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73. Ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 608.

74. Porcius, Commentarium, ap. Rome, Bibl. Barberin, Cod. B. B. B. I, 13.

75. Hartman Schedel, in Königl. Staatsbibl. of Munich, Cod. Lat. 716, post fum 127.

Beltrando Costabili to the duke of Ferrara [76] proves that he had not degenerated during the years of his pontificate. The dispatch is as follows : " Cesar de Borgia was severe towards those who wrote or spoke against him. The Pope himself was less sensitive in matters of that kind, and blamed Cesar. What he said is remarkable. The duke, he declared to the ambassador, is a kindly man, but can not bear insults. I often told him that Rome is a free city, and that anyone can say and write as he likes, that evil is spoken also of me, but I let that go for what it is worth. The Duke replied : If Rome is used to speak and to write, it is all very well, but I want to teach repentance to such people. The Pope recalled to mind how many he himself had pardoned, especially on the occasion of the incursion, of king Charles VIII ; how many cardinals he had forgiven, whom the King himself called traitors to the Pope. I would have had a right, he said, to put to death the Vicechancellor and the cardinal of St. Peter's bands ; but I was unwilling to harm anybody, and granted pardon to fourteen great lords ".

The result of our researches has been that we have found him to be at all times, a man of meekness, patient with offenders, forgiving at the least sign of regret, and severe only with incorrigible and rebellious criminals.

He had often and much to suffer from false friends and open foes, and often he seemed excessive in repaying them good for evil. His enemies Catherine Sforza and the Orsini of Ceri are striking examples of his kindness ; and his indulgence and magnanimity towards the two brothers, Giuliano and Giovanni della Rovere are without an equal in all history.

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76. Ap. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 465.

CHAPTER VIII.

Alexander VI accused of immorality.

ARTICLE I. — VARIOUS INCRIMINATIONS.

Among his numerous great works, Alexander VI had, as a Pope, conducted with a firm hand a rigid moral reform in nearly every Christian country ; and, as a temporal prince, he had handled severely the tyrants of his people, and had succeeded in restraining the ambition of the Venetians, keeping them out of his States as long as he lived. These are the actual causes why no crime was too black not to be imputed to him. But, then as now, it was known that the easiest and the most efficacious means to wreak revenge on him and to defile his memory was to assert him, a priest and a Sovereign Pontiff as guilty of unchastity.

A lengthy lampoon was written and copied, worked over again and then distributed among all the libraries of Rome, to disgrace him, by accusing him of a life of fornication, incest and other ribaldries, when yet a youth. We have examined the manuscript, at the beginning of our Second Volume, and found it to be an agglomeration of anachronisms, stupidities and impossibilities moral and physical, which our modern enemies of pope Alexander VI, while borrowing its contents, are ashamed to designate as their authority. Half a dozen writers of the time have left behind some malign jeers, anecdotes and notices, which a few of our latest historians, especially Gregorovius [1], Henri de l'Epinois [2] and Yriarte [3] are

1. All through his Lucr. Borgia.
2. Ap. Revue des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, pp. 395, seqq.
3. Les Borgia, César Borgia, t. II, Ch. X, pp. 32, seqq.

carefully sweeping together, to make their pile of dirt serve as material for their copious indictment against the morality of the slandered Pontiff.

According to the Venetian ambassador, pope Alexander VI was a passionate lover of secular, worldly pleasures and festivities ; for, on the 22d of February, 1503, he foretells : " The Pope shall, this coming carnival, be occupied every day with feasts and amusements, not one of which he is willing to give up in order to attend to business that ought to be transacted "[4]. de l'Epinois, fearing that the prophecy of Giustinian was not sufficiently convincing, transforms it into a report of actual facts[5]. This is unfair, but, can we believe either of them, after hearing Raphael of Volterra, who was no admirer of the Pope, state[6] that Alexander VI rested from his labors only when he had not to attend to any business ; and this we may readily admit, when we consider the extraordinary amount of labor which he performed during his pontificate. If we remember the important events that took place about the time of the Roman carnival in the year 1503, we will hardly believe that the Pope was then remaining inactive for several days in succession ; but rather presume that he was doing more work than was exactly pleasing to the Venetian Seigniory and to their envoy in Rome. Giustinian himself relates, on the 21st of February, that is, on the day previous to his disparaging prediction, how the Pope closed the festivities of a solemn court reception by giving an audience to the ambassadors of France, who read to him a disagreeable letter from their King, about the captive cardinal Ascanio Sforza ; and how then he himself also accosted the

4. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p 406 : Lui starà tutto questo carlevar ogni zorno intento a feste e piaceri, della quali non vol lasser niuna per faccende che occorrono.

5. Revue des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 395 : Pendant tout ce carnival, écrit Giustinian le 20 février 1502 (sic), chaque jour le Pape est aux fêtes et aux plaisirs. il ne veut pas s'en priver.

6. Anthropologia, Lib. XXII, post. p. 261.

Pontiff, obtained favors for Venice, and had with him a lengthy conversation on important matters of State [7].

It was the custom of both the Pontiff's predecessors and successors to enjoy and encourage the festivities of the carnival, while they knew that national holidays and public rejoicing are a real need of the people of any country ; and we depended not on the prophetic spirit of Giustinian to assume that pope Alexander VI would take some interest in the popular pre-lenten merrymaking of the year 1503, as he had in former years.

Another vicious conjecture of Giustinian adds to the Pontiff's alleged love of pleasure a taint of impure gratification. The Pope had gone to Camerino, to give possession of that place to the infant son of Cesar de Borgia, and was absent from the City a few days longer than he had intimated at his departure. His dilatory return gave occasion to the ambassador, who was in Rome, to give free scope to his imagination; and, knowing that it was part of the programme of some cities, in receiving the visits of Sovereign Pontiffs, to honor them with modest ladies' dances in front of their hotels, as was done lately in Piombino, he accordingly wrote : We may imagine the good time they have over there ; the Camertines invite His Holiness to stay where he is and to enjoy himself, as it is publicly said ; for every day he has little girls to dance before him, and other festivities, wherein young ladies invariably take part [8]. Thus did Giustinian see at a distance of a hundred miles, and watch, not to relate but to make the Pontiff's history for a few days.

This piece of defamation was found to be too tame by a late publicist. Henry de l'Epinois refers to the passage just

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7. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, pp. 404, 405.

8. Villari, Dispacci, 18 Settembre 1502, p. 118 : Se iudica, i belli tempi che qui usano, lo invitano a star a solazzo dove el sta, per quanto qui publice se parla, perché ogni zorno fa ballar putte, et altre feste, nelle qual sempre intravienneno damiselle.

quoted ; but he commences by doing away with Giustinian's " se iudica ", it is thought ; and positively asserts as a fact, that the Pontiff's recreation consisted in making young men [9] dance before him, and in giving feasts, in which young ladies always appeared. Nor does he restrict these performances of girls and damsels to the few days that he tarried in Camerino, but liberally extended to every day of his pontificate [10]. He thus exaggerates the accusation so excessively, that it becomes simply ridiculous.

Charles Yriarte is more mischievous yet in his translation, when he says : Giustinian has shown us Alexander assisting at balls, which he organized nearly every night. Every day he has young maids to dance before him, and gives feasts of another kind, wherein courtesans take part [11].

Such is the dishonesty and, as a consequence, the unreliability of the traducers of the moral life of pope Alexander VI!

One day Giustinian was disappointed when being unable to see the Pope, who was preparing for the anniversary of his coronation. He took revenge by asserting that the Pontiff would not admit any one, because he was enjoying himself and feasting with ladies [12]. On the 30th of December, 1502, he gave the description of a scene, that, he says, took place at the Vatican, but of which he heard or saw nothing. He reports to Venice that cardinal Orsini supped there the previous evening and stayed till night had set in, that the occasion was enlivened by ladies, without whom there was

9. The original has " putte ", not " putti ".

10. Revue des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 395 : Les plaisirs et les délassements du Pontife étaient de faire danser chaque jour des jeunes gens et de donner des fêtes où toujours figuraient des demoiselles.

11. Les Borgia, César Borgia, t. II, p. 40-41 : Giustinian nous a montré Alexandre assistant à des bals qu'il organise presque chaque soir : " Tous les jours il fait danser des filles devant lui, et donne des fêtes d'autre sorte auxquelles prennent part des courtisanes ".

12. Villari, Dispacci, Roma, 25 agosto 1502, vol. I, p. 100.

no feast to please any more at the palace. He also assumes that there had been gambling to the amount of a few hundred ducats [13]. Again, he relates how the Pontiff, in the afternoon of the 21st of February, 1503, gave a formal reception to the foreign ambassadors and their ladies, to which he was invited. He expresses his thanks by writing to Venice, that the Pope had, the whole afternoon, taken pleasure in listening to comedies [14], at which many cardinals assisted, some of whom dressed in their official garb, and others wearing masks [15]. There was also a company of ladies, he adds, who were great favorities of the Holy Father, one of whom was sitting at his feet [16].

Yriarte and de l'Epinois recount with great gusto and exaggerate [17] the vile insinuations, set forth by a known adversary ; who, when present just once, ignores the customs of the time, and blames his guest for allowing an honorable seat to the ladies invited with him. They might, however, have known that Giustinian is the only ambassador or Roman correspondent to report incidents of this kind. Nor does Burchard mention any visits or gatherings of ladies at the Vatican palace, although he notices every minor particular, which he considers as liable to blame.

Thuasne has seen fit to copy, in his Diary of John Burchard [18], the infamous letter, written on the 16th of July, 1501, to Machiavelli by a certain Augustin Vespucci, who says that somebody, " qualcheuno ", accuses the Pontiff of having

13. Ibid., p. 295.

14. He does not say, like de l'Epinois, comedies of Plaute. Giustinian assures us, without proof or probability, that the Pontiff often had comedies read to him. But was it any sin to listen, even once in a while for the sake of recreation, to a decent comedy, or to one of the so-called Mysteries, which were the edifying beginning of our modern theater? Other moral Popes listened to them Ademollo, Alessandro VI, Giulio II e Leone X nel Carnevale di Roma, p. 82.

15. Each one, of course, had to lift up his disguise when appearing before Giustinian !

16. Villari, ibid., p. 404.

17. Les Borgia. t. II, p. 40 ; Revue des Quest. Histor., t.XXIX, p. 395-396.

18. T. III, p. 167, n.

constantly his illicit flock at the Vatican ; and tells him that, every evening twenty-five and more women are carried, between the Angelus and the first hour of the night, behind the saddle, " in groppa ", by someone, " di qualcheuno ", to the Palace ; it has grown to such proportions, that manifestly the whole palace has become a den of all filthiness. He adds that, if desired, he will give stories yet more beautiful [19].

The very text of the letter betrays its falsity. Vespucci was evidently a corrupt pornographer, and Döllinger [20] calls stories of that kind, falsehoods on the Popes. The tale is, indeed, impossible; for how could, within an hour's time, somebody, on horseback, take behind him twenty-five and more women from the City to the Vatican, even though should, on every repeated jaunt, two of those creatures have utilized both the horse's croup and its tail ? And where would the panderer have found all his victims, since it was the law in Rome, that, after the Angelus bell, no courtesan, that wished to escape ill treatment could appear on the streets any more [21]? Moreover, while the public scandal is alleged to have taken place every day, it could not fail to attract the attention and reprobation of the whole City ; and yet, neither Burchard, nor any other Roman writer is found to make any mention of it. Thuasne has simply repeated a manifest calumny.

The report of a revelry more lascivious yet, of a scene truly bestial, is attributed to the Right Reverend Master of Ceremonies, to John Burchard. According to Thuasne's edition

19. Restavami dire che si nota per qualcheuno che, dal Papa in fuori, che vi ha del continuo il suo greggie illecito, ogni sera XXV femine e più, da l'Avemaria ad una hora, sono portate in Palazo, in groppa di qualcheuno, adeo che manifestamente di tuto il Palazo è factosi postribulo d'ogni spurcitie. Altra nuova non vi voglio dare hora di qua, ma se mi rispondete vene daro delle piu belle...

20. Papstfabeln, 2d Edition, s 33, n., Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 359, n. 2.

21. El Prete, the special envoy of Mantua, ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 219.

of his Diary [22], he relates that, between All Saints' and All Souls' days of the year 1501, fifty public women of the less degraded class, called courtesans, had a supper with the duke of Valentinois, at his apartments in the apostolic palace. After the repast, they, dressed at first, danced with servants and others who were there. And then follows the unprintable remainder of the story, the obscene product of a corrupt imagination. " And the Pope, the duke and his sister, Lucretia, were there present and looking on ! "

It is evident that Burchard was not an eyewitness of the orgy, and nowhere does he, in his long diary, write such foul matter, nowhere does he, even from hearsay, report any occurrence apt to injure the good reputation of any of the Borgias [23]. How could he here suddenly descend from his accustomed decent ways to the lowest rank of a filthy writer, how could he describe a scene calculated to ruin the character of all the Borgias at once ? Burchard is certainly not himself on this occasion. It is no wonder, therefore, if every modern historian either denies or discusses the genuineness of this Diary's passage [24].

To support the interpolated story, the enemies of pope Alexander VI bring forth of late other writers of the time. So does Thuasne [25] produce Matarazzo, or the chronicle ascribed to him. But Matarazzo essentially alters the tale, taking away its greatest odium, when he replaces Burchard's courtesans and valets with ladies and gentlemen of the court [26]. Thuasne also quotes Francis Pepi, who writes that it was Cesar de Borgia, not the Pontiff, who invited low harlots, and who cuts away the most abominable details, by saying that they passed the night in dancing and laughing,

22. T. III, p. 167.
23. Cfr. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 180.
24. Pieper, ap. Römische Quartalschrift, 1893, s. 396.
25. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 167, n. 2.
26. Ap. Archivio Stor. Ital., t. XVI, p. 189.

and by leaving out the presence of Lucretia de Borgia. The anonymous letter to Silvio Savelli is also mentioned [27] to prop the report of Burchard's diary. This letter, however, states only that the courtesans were invited to eat at the palace and offered a most shocking sight. It notices no further particulars nor the presence of any of the Borgias [28].

After all the witnesses have been heard, there seems to remain the possibility of a feast given by Cesar de Borgia, at his private apartments in the Vatican palace, to some ladies and gentlemen of his court ; a feast transformed into an immoral monstrosity, as the colored rumor of it spread farther and farther. Before it had attained all its viciousness, the rumor reached Bologna, where it was picked up by the compiler of Matarazzo's chronicle, who declares that he believes it, because, he says, my vouchers are not only the people of Rome but of all Italy. This remark, Gregorovius sensibly observes [29], reveals the true source of the scandalous tale to be the talk of the common people. Matarazzo is of no authority, he adds ; and who shall ever believe that Lucretia, the newly married bride of Alfonso of Este, whom she was on the point of joining in Ferrara, was a willing spectator of the disgraceful scene.

Pastor believes it and the whole outrageous story as found in Burchard's diary [30], to be a counterpart of the pretended carousal in Siena, which we have proved to amount to nothing and to be a slanderous forgery . He founds his opinion on the say of one—not of two, as Pastor asserts—Florentine, Francis Pepi, who eliminates Lucretia from the scene ; and claims the support of Yriarte and of de l'Epinois [31]. We shall not deny him the authority, whatever it be, of Yriarte, who

27. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 167, n. 2.
28. Id. ibid., p. 184.
29. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 181.
30. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 451-452.
31. Pastor, ubi supra, s. 452, n. 1.

translates the letter of Pepi [32], and tries to improve upon the lasciviousness of the description of Burchard's diary. Strangely enough, he denies that the diary represents Lucretia de Borgia as present at the revelry [33].

Not so does de l'Epinois. He mentions, it is true, the charges of Matarazzo, but adds immediately that they are tales, wherein the malignity of some and the lustfulness of others may take delight ; but these are rejected, as Reumont declares, by all who have an insight into the nature of the Roman stories of that miserable time [34].

Not to be unjust towards Pastor, we here notice that he acknowledges to whole affair to be probably exaggerated [35]. Nay, Thuasne himself admits that many historians, little suspected of partiality towards Alexander VI, have refused to believe the tale, " l'historiette ", on account of the scandalous immorality wich it supposes— and for other reasons [36].

Gregorovius, the bitter enemy of pope Alexander VI and of all Popes, strongly rejects the scandal of the fifty courtesans, and calls it a fib and a worthless anecdote [37].

When Lucretia de Borgia had been married by proxy, in Ferrara, her father-in-law, the duke Ercole, sent two special envoys, Gerard Saraceni and Hector Bellingeri, who arrived in Rome on the 15th of September, 1501, and were there yet on the 23d of the following December. It was their duty to carefully inquire and faithfully report to him all that they might happen to learn about the bride of his son. They were in Rome and probably visited Lucretia on All Saints' and All Souls' days. If the fifty public women and their low escort really went to the Vatican, the envoys must have witnessed

32. Autour des Borgia, p. 40.
33. Les Borgia, Cesar Borgia, t. II, p. 41.
34. Revue des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 396 and n. 7.
35. Gesch. der Päpste, t. III, s. 452, n. 1 : Uebertrieben ist die Sache woll sicher.
36. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 168, n.
37. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 456.

the procession or heard, at least, of the carousal. Yet, there is not a word of it in their numerous dispatches to Ferrara. On the contrary, they [38] wrote, a few days after Lucretia is said to have disgraced herself by her presence at the orgy, that " she was an amiable and good natured lady, prudent and discreet and a Catholic fearing God " [39].

In December the three brothers of Alfonso of Este came to Rome, in order to conduct his bride to Ferrara, and were lodged in the apartments of the Vatican, where, a few weeks before, the scandalous event should have taken place. Of this, however, they did not, apparently, learn the least thing, no more than the agent of their sister, the marchioness of Mantua, El Prete, who accompanied them. The commission confided to this man was similar to that of the Ferrarese envoys, and his letters, preserved in the Mantuan archives, prove that he performed his errand most conscientiously. Yet, he does not allude, in the most distant manner, to any meeting or rejoicing not conducted with the strictest propriety and decorum [40].

Should the orgy at the Vatican have been a fact to any extent and not a mere invention, we might certainly expect to hear of it from the habitual slanderers of pope Alexander VI, especially after Matarazzo has informed us that it was known among the people of all Italy. What a splendid theme it would have been for an immoral poem of Pontanus or Sanazzar, or for one of their biting distichs, at least ; nor would Guicciardini have neglected to record it fully in his Italian History. But von Pastor and Yriarte were not able to quote them as authorities on this point. They did not write a line, not a word of the repulsive concern.

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38. That is, Giovanni Lucas Pozzi, the colleague of Saraceni, with whom he had just called on Lucretia.

39. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 190, 216 and Bd. II, s. 107.

40. W. Gilbert, Lucr. Borgia in Ferrara, vol. I, p. 26.

We object to the expression of von Reumont, who says that it is sufficient for the dishonor of pope Alexander, that such stories have been scattered and believed. How little they were scattered and still less believed at the time, is evidenced by the silence just noticed of the very enemies of the Pontiff. Besides, the fact of being slandered is, in truth, rather an honor than a dishonor, since calumny assails but what is virtuous and good. Our Lord himself was slandered. von Reumont expressly states that all such stories were invented by the obscene spirit of defamation, of which there never was any deficiency in Rome. We fully admit, however, what he adds, namely, that from now on is the befitting time to neglect and despise all such tales [41].

de l'Epinois remarks that cardinal Hergenroether expresses this same opinion ; but, immediately he commences his next paragraph by saying : " In the midst of such feasts, strange, we must agree, at the court of a Pope... ", as if what he had just despised, were yet true. Honesty is an historian's quality, which can hardly be expected from a traducer of pope Alexander VI [42].

Alexander Braccio wrote from Perugia to the Ten of Florence, on the 8th of April, 1497, that the cardinal of Gurck had told him : " When I think of the life of the Pope and of some cardinals, I shudder at the thought of residing at the Curia. I will not hear of it, if God does not reform his Church " [43]. That is, no doubt, a severe rebuke of the papal court ; but, while we greatly doubt whether a cardinal ever spoke such words, we positively know that, shortly after, Raymond Pérault, the cardinal of Gurck, wrote himself to

41. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 397, n. 1 : Al dishonore di Papa Alessandro basta l'essersi sparse e credute tali storielle inventate dalla sudicia maldicenza, di cui a Roman non fu mai difetto ; ma ormai sarebbe propria tempo di spregiarie.

42. See de l'Epinois, ibid., p. 397.

43. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 395.

pope Alexander VI, requesting to have a house prepared for him; and that he went to live in Rome in a palace, the rent of which was paid by the Pontiff [44].

The enemies of pope Alexander VI have found in the marriages of Lucretia de Borgia, and the festivities that accompanied them, another occasion to blame the moral condition of the Vatican palace. Wedding rejoicings would, to-day, be little befitting the residence of a Sovereign Pontiff, although Our Lord honored with his presence the nuptials of Cana ; but pope Innocent VIII had blessed in the Vatican the marriage of his niece, and his successors, Alexander VI, Julius II and Leo X followed his example [45].

Lucretia was married on the 12th of June, 1493, to Giovanni—whom Infessura wrongly calls Alexander—Sforza.

The spiteful Infessura gives of the celebration the following worldly and lascivious description, which was inserted into Burchard's diary [46] : " One hundred and fifty ladies of the highest nobility of Rome and all the officials of the City, the Senator, the husbands of the said ladies and all the ambassadors were invited in the Pope's name to the nuptials in the pontifical palace next to St. Peter's. And, while the men were waiting to see the bestowal of the marriage ring, the above mentioned ladies entered first ; and after them, as the said gentlemen, citizens, officials, ambassadors and the other invited guests were ready to follow the ladies, the door was shut and they could not enter ! At last, after an hour or so, Mr.Coronatus Planca and Camillus, the notaries requested to write the acts, opened the door, and then the citizens and the

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44. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, at the date of Aug. 27, 1499.

45. Burchard, Diar., t. I, p. 488; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 528 ; Ademollo, Alessandro VI, Giulio II e Leone X nel Carnivale di Roma, p. 73.

46. T. II, p. 77 ; interpolated, as is acknowledged ibid., p. 76, n 2 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia. Bd. I, s. 59.

others entered, and the giving of the ring, already performed, was made over again " [47].

Infessura continues : " And there were present the Pope, eleven cardinals and many bishops and laymen. And before the said lords and ladies, the said daughter (sic) of the Pope received the ring and was espoused, with dowry and dowry stipulations. After the nuptials the Pope distributed fifty silver cups of comfits, for a collation. They were thrown into the laps of many, especially of the beautiful women ; and all this in honor and praise of God and of the Roman Church ".

Could any writer fabricate a story more silly and incredible?

To answer Infessura's reviling, it may suffice to give the report of the ambassador of Ferrara, who was present at the whole performance.

Giovanni Andrea Boccaccio wrote to Ercole d'Este, on the next day, June 13th, 1493 :

" Yesterday, the 12th, the public nuptials were celebrated in the palace with great pomp and display. All the Roman matrons had been called, as also the principal citizens and many cardinals, ten of whom were present. The Pontiff was seated on his throne, in the midst of the said cardinals, and the palace and adjoining houses were filled with people admiring the great event. The lord of Pesaro wedded the lady with all due ceremonies, and immediately thereafter the bishop of Concordia delivered a most becoming discourse. No other ambassadors were present than the one of Venice, of Milan and myself ; but towards the end arrived one of the king of France ".

Then Boccaccio relates a doubt as to when he should offer

47. There is such a striking parity here with the husbands and chaperons of the ladies of Siena at the Bichi gardens, that we might suspect Infessura of having been the forger of the alleged disagreement between pope Pius II and cardinal Roderic de Borgia, in regard to the latter's supposed frivolity.

to the bride the present forwarded by the duke of Ferrara, and continues his description of the festivities :

" His Holiness then gave to the bridegroom and the bride a frugal supper, of which partook the Most Reverend Ascanio, Colonna and the cardinal of St. Anastasia ; then followed the spouse and the bridegroom; after them the count of Pitigliano, captain of the Church, and the lord Julius Orsini ; last came Madona Julia de Farnese, who is so highly spoken of [48], Madona Theodorina with her daughter, named the Marchioness of Gerazo ; a daughter of the said captain, wife of the lord Angelus Farnese, brother of the said Madona Julia. Finally, there followed a young brother of the said cardinal de Colonna and Madona Adriana Ursina, who is the mother-in-law of the said Madona Julia, and who has always been, in her own house, the governess of the bride, her standing being that of a niece of the Pontiff. Adriana was the daughter of the late Messire Pedro de Milla, with whom Your Eminent Lordship was acquainted, the own cousin of the Pope ".

The ambassador here describes the costly presents that were made, and then continues :

" Afterwards there was dancing by the ladies, and, as an interlude, a worthy comedy took place, with much singing and music, the Pope and all of us remaining present. What more shall I say ? It would require many pages to write it all. In this way we have spent the whole night. I leave it to your Excellent Lordship to judge whether we did right or wrong. I humbly recommend myself. Rome, June 13th, 1493.

Your servant Jo. Andr. bishop of Modena [49].

This detailed account of an honest eyewitness contains nothing of blame and, we presume, sufficiently refutes what-

48. Or, so much, " est tantus sermo ". Boccaccio does not intimate the subject of the talk. Was it her beauty, praised elsewhere, or perhaps the kindness of the Pope towards her, his niece?

49. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, p. 41 ; Original in Archiv. of Modena.

ever is to be found worldly or lascivious in the imaginary report of Infessura.

After this union with Giovanni Sforza had been canonically declared null and void, the niece of pope Alexander VI, Lucretia, was quietly married, on the 21st of July, 1498, to Alfonso, duke of Bisceglia ; again in the apostolic palace, in the presence of the Pontiff and of the cardinals Ascanio Sforza, John Lopez and the younger Giovanni de Borgia [50]. This wedding was followed by several private festivities, in which the Pope participated with juvenile liveliness, Pastor says. It is worth while to notice that at the wedding supper the Pope sat alone at one table, and, at another, were gathered the new spouses with the cardinals of Monreale and of Perugia and two of the Pontiff's nieces [51].

Gregorovius reports also [52] a marriage celebrated at the Vatican, on the 8th of September, 1498 ; namely, the one of another niece of pope Alexander VI, of Hieronima de Borgia, a sister of the younger cardinal Giovanni, to Fabio Orsini, son of Paul and nephew of cardinal John Baptist. No derogating remarks are made on this occasion.

After her beloved husband, the duke of Bisceglia, had been murdered, Lucretia de Borgia was wedded by proxy in Ferrara, to Alfonso, the eldest son of Ercole d'Este, duke of that city ; but an important ceremony, the tradition of the nuptial ring, was still to be performed in Rome. On this occasion, the duke sent a brilliant deputation made up of his three other sons and of the highest nobility of Ferrara, who arrived in Rome, on the 23d of December, 1501, and were lodged in the pontifical palace, in the Belvedere and at the homes of the principal officials of the papal court.

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50. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 112 ; Bd. II, s. 56.

51. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 415 and 838, no. 44.

52. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 115.

Nearly every detail, not only of the religious ceremony, but also of the introductory and of the subsequent festivities, has been recorded by the ambassadors of Ferrara, who found no fault with any of them. Late historians, however, like Pastor and especially Gregorovius, intimate their disapproval of the dances, the comedies and of the number and magnificence of the festive demonstrations generally. Yet, Gregorovius himself remarks [53] that dancing was more natural and simpler than it is to-day and that often ladies only danced, either with one another or single by themselves. Modern immoral dancing was unknown to decent society at the time.

The latter historian refers to the Ferrarese ambassador, to state that Lucretia and the ladies of her court gave a dance already in September, and the Pope laughingly remarked to the envoys of Ferrara, who were present, that he wanted them to notice that the Duchess was not limping [54]. If the report is true, we admit that pope Alexander VI spoke as an old uncle proud of the art of his niece ; but we fail to see in this incident anything really improper.

When such little entertainments took place, they lasted only till eight or nine o'clock in the evening [55], and it is an evident exaggeration to say that they were repeated every evening, since El Prete writes to Modena, that the Illustrious Duchess made her appearance very seldom, occupied as she was in preparing her imminent departure for Ferrara [56].

On the evening of the 26th of December another visit was made at Lucretia's palace. She danced with Ferrante, the brother of her spouse, and El Prete notices that she was dressed in black velvet, having her chest covered up to the

53. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 257.
54. Ibid., s. 191 : Saraceni to Ercole, Rome, Sept. the 16th.
55. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 192.
56. Ibid., s. 218.

throat with a veil striped with gold. A like short feast was enjoyed on the 28th [57].

The supplemental tradition of the nuptial ring, not the renewal of the marriage, as Gregorovius says, was performed on the 30th of December, 1501. Lucretia was led by Ferrante and Sigismond, the brothers of the spouse, into the Vatican, before the Pontiff, thirteen cardinals, the duke of Valentinois, the ambassadors of France, of Spain and of Venice, the deputies of Ferrara and a great number of noble Roman ladies and gentlemen. Ferrante, the bridegroom's proxy, placed, with fitting words, the ring on the finger of the bride, by whom it was freely accepted. Thereafter the bishop of Adria preached the sermon of the occasion and notaries public drew up the legal papers [58].

Public rejoicings, horse races and a sham naval battle commenced on St. Peter's square, immediately after the ceremony. In the palace, the bride and her brother Cesar led a dance, executed by the ladies of Lucretia's following, and allegorical comedies, in latin verses, were also acted. Then everyone retired. His Holiness remained alone with the bride and her brothers-in-law ; for, that evening, he gave a nuptial banquet, which was a family affair, but of which I know nothing to tell, El Prete writes [59].

The next day, festivities of various kinds took place in the Vatican, in Lucretia's palace " in Porticu ", and in the whole city of Rome. Parades of triumphal cars, bull fights, recitations of eclogues, dances of the ladies, morris and maypole dances, short bucolic representations and allegorical scenes, as of Virtue and Force, where gods and men played together, in Italian or Latin heroic verses ; and other amusements were enjoyed, the three days that followed the wedding. Saraceni notices, without making any remark, that Plautus' comedy

57. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 218, 219.

58. Gregorovius, ibid., s. 220.

59. Ibid., s. 222.

" del Menechino ", a piece of very lax morality, was also acted on the evening of the 2d of January, in the papal apartments. But, although the presence of the Pontiff is recorded whenever he makes his appearance, Saraceni does not mention him as present at the performance of this play, nor hardly at any of the later diversions. The programme of the feasts seems to have been in the care of the prince Ferrante of Este [60], at whose paternal home, as at all Italian courts, the works of Plautus were held in high repute.

On the 6th of January, Lucretia was on her way to join her bridegroom in Ferrara.

Having thus exposed the ethical side of the marriage celebrations at the Vatican under pope Alexander VI, we might ask what evidence the enemies of that Pontiff have found in them, to justify the reproach which they cast on his character. But we have learned long since that contemporary hatred and revenge and later prejudice are sufficient motives, not only to bring accusations against him, but also to assail his morality with downright insults, offered without the slightest attempt at proving the imputed contumelies.

A victim of hatred, he has even been called a criminal, guilty of incest.

ARTICLE II. — ALEXANDER ACCUSED OF INCEST.

On the 14th of June, 1497, pope Alexander VI notified cardinal Ascanio Sforza that, because of the nullifying impediment of impotency, Lucretia de Borgia could no longer remain with her reputed husband, his cousin, Giovanni Sforza, the lord of Pesaro. When he was informed that his case was to be brought before an ecclesiastical tribunal, Giovanni,

60. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 222, 223 ; Bd. II, s. 114-119.

who had left his wife in Rome, was with Ludovico il Moro, Ascanio's brother and regent of the duchy of Milan. He felt wronged and disgraced, and, furious with hatred and revenge, he exclaimed that the Pope was to take away his wife for nothing else but to live with her. This burst of anger was at once reported, on the following 23d of June, to Ercole, duke of Ferrara, by Costabili, his ambassador, at the court of Milan [61]. Thus was the vengeful anger of the lord of Pesaro the true origin of the shocking insult, not only against the Pontiff, but also against a lady that had, for four years, faithfully followed him from place to place.

The Italian defamatory spirit took up Giovanni Sforza's calumnious expression and fostered it into a rumor, that survives until this day. Yet, it is strange that Guido Posthumus, the court poet of Pesaro, who, with several bitter epigrams avenged the humiliation of his master, never uttered this insulting comment nor mentioned the name of Lucretia at all [62].

In not one of the numerous dispatches of that time can be found any suspicion of the kind against pope Alexander VI. Among the ancient writers, Mark Attilius Alessio Arretinus had heard of the vile rumor and repeated it as a rumor [63]. The Neapolitan poets, Pontanus and Sannazar, have, in most scandalous verses, transformed into facts the disgraceful supposition of Giovanni Sforza ; but Ranke himself observes [64], that hatred or a pleasantry was sufficient to make them defile any man with the obscene effluvium of their pagan imagination. Their satires prove nothing, Gregorovius

61. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 109, footn. : Anzi haverla conosciuta infinite volte, ma chef Papa no gelha tolta per altro se non per usare con Lei. Extendendose molto a carico di S. Beatne.

62. Gregorovius, ibid., Bd. I, s. 180.

63. Thuasne, Burchardi Diarium, t. II, p. 443, n.. : Incestasseque filiam Lucretiam Alexandrum pontificem vulgo increbuit. And he adds a well proven falsity : Paulus II ex concubina domum replevit.

64. Zur Kritik, s. 28.

says [65], than their deep hatred against Alexander and Cesar, who cooperated in the ruin of the Aragonian kings of Naples. They afterwards deserted and blamed their former benefactors, and the German historian justly adds, that their writings further teach how little confidence can be placed in persons, wicked as they were.

Matarazzo asserts that, besides doubting worse yet, the lord of Pesaro made the discovery of his wife's, Lucretia's, guilty relations with her two brothers, the duke of Gandia and Cesar ; that he killed the duke of Gandia and fled from Rome; and that the Pope, therefore, dissolved his marriage. Gregorovius remarks, however, that Matarazzo's chronicle, which, according to de l'Epinois [66], has often the character of a lampoon, is of no authority whatever ; and that its story, which sets forth the monstrous idea of a young married lady guilty of a threefold incest, is historically untrue ; because Giovanni Sforza had left Rome two months already before the murder was committed. Moreover, the duke of Gandia had fallen a victim of the Orsini barons, as the Pontiff well knew, and not of the lord of Pesaro, who was not even suspected. Nor did he lose his wife in consequence of his pretended crime, but of a canonical impediment of matrimony. The alleged results of Giovanni's discovery thus being false, we may safely conclude that so also was false the alleged discovery itself.

The assassination of the duke of Gandia is also erroneously attributed to Giovanni Sforza, in an anonymous letter, written from Rome on the 17th of June, 1497, and copied by Malipiero [67] The letter is a report of a rumor, " si dice ", they

65. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 179.

66. Revue des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 397, n. 2.

67. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 182, n. 2, from Archiv. Stor. Ital., t. VII, p. 490 : Si dice, che il Sig. Giovanni Sforza ha fatto questo effetto (the assassination) perche il Duca usave con la sorella, sua consorte, la qual è fiola del Papa, ma d'un altra madre : was factisch unrichtig ist.

say, which gives as cause of the misdeed, the pretended illicit relation of the Duke with his sister, Giovanni's wife [68]. The rumor then adds a double untruth, namely, that this wife was the daughter of the Pope, but from a mother different from Giovanni's. The short " si dice ", therefore, is a condensation of four falsities.

The Venetian ambassador, Polo Capello, intimates the same rumor in his Relation of September 1500 [69].

Finally, the anonymous letter to Sylvius Savelli mentions incests and filthiness of sons and daughters in the Pope's residence ; but hereupon Ranke, the great Protestant historian, asks : " Shall we believe a libel that dares only suggest such charges ? " How, indeed, could we take as an historical document a paper that is but an outbreak of violent political hatred into a wild flood of proofless assertions, of incriminations, of untruths and of mere insults ? For any unbiased man, to read such abuse is to reject it [70].

Guicciardini, who is neither a Roman nor a contemporary witness, repeats the Perugian Matarazzo and the Neapolitan poets, when saying that the Pope was a competitor with her two brothers for Lucretia's love, and that he dissolved her marriage with Giovanni Sforza, because he would not have him as a rival. To save his own honor, he prefaces, however, the villainous charge with the condition : If such enormity is worthy of belief, and with the warning, that it is but a rumor [71]. Gilbert remarks [72] that Guicciardini's first editions,

68. It is remarkable that Burchard (ubi supra) who reports indifferently what tends to the honor or to the disgrace of the Borgias, and Mariana (Hist. Hispaniae, Lib. 26) do not in the slightest manner allude to Lucretia's pretended incest, as being the cause of the assassination, all the details of which they minutely relate.

69. Gregorovius, ibid.

70. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 182-187, has a copy of the letter, which may be an interpolation.

71. Storia d'Italia, vol. I, Lib. III, Cap. IV, p. 229 : Era fama se però è degna di credersi tanta enormità.

72. Lucr. Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara, vol. I, p. 24.

in particular the one printed at Venice in the year 1599, were free of that stain.

The Protestants Imhof [73] and Gibbon [74] admit the old rumor, but Symonds [75] calls it into question.

Wm. Roscoe, although a non-Catholic, concludes a lengthy investigation as follows: " With regard to the incestuous intercourse of Lucretia Borgia, the circumstances of her life and conduct afford no evidence ; on the contrary, the anxiety of her (commonly called) father, to avail himself of the first opportunity of uniting her to another husband, must be considered as a strong indication that his own attachment to her was not of the criminal nature referred to. It must require a considerable portion of credulity to believe, that either Ercole, duke of Ferrara, or Alfonso, his son, who were distinguished by their virtues and their talents, would have submitted to have their race perpetuated through the contaminated blood of a known and incestuous prostitute ".

Ranke, in a paragraph " on the false stories of Guicciardini " [76], rejects altogether the outrageous rumor, and can not believe that such madness and aberration from nature should have taken hold of a Pope.

Gregorovius not only spurns the charge, but draws from the habitual charm and cheerfulness of Lucretia's appearance, which enraptured the Ferrarese ambassadors, a psychological argument, to prove that she could not possibly be the inhuman hag of Sannazar's epigrams [77].

Pastor has rightly disdained to refute the slanderous rumor, but approvingly copies [78] the remark of Dal Re saying, that grave historians, such as Roscoe, Campori, Antonelli, Citadella

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73. Genealogia XX Illustrium in Hispania Familiarum, p. 25.
74. Antiquities of the House of Brunswick.
75. Renaissance in Italy, p. 384, n.
76. Zur Kritik, s. 28.
77. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 183.
78. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s 450, n.

and Gregorovius, have thrown aside, as a mere calumny, the accusation of incest, brought forth to disgrace Alexander VI.

We were truly astonished when finding that a writer, as licentious and superficial as Yriarte, calls " false and deceiving the assertions that designate Lucretia, as the mistress of her father and of her brother " [79].

de l'Epinois does not touch the scandalous tale, and it is not likely that henceforth any writer, who respects himself, will seriously repeat an invective, which originated as a mean revenge against a Pontiff, who insisted upon canonical law of matrimony being observed. But the enemies of pope Alexander VI have provided for it that, should the accusation of one species of immorality fail to effect his defamation, other imputations of a similar kind, comprising, in fact, the whole catalogue of impure vices, might produce the intended result.

ARTICLE III. — MORE INCRIMINATIONS.

We here literally translate from the bitter Gregorovius [80] a new charge of that nature, and any reader will notice that the incrimination is accompanied by the virtual proof of its falsehood. Gregorovius writes : " Ludovico il Moro, once in friendly relations with the Pope, hated him at the end of the year 1494, because he had turned away from him and from France ; and he was exasperated by the arrest of his brother, the cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The ambassador of the duke of Ferrara, Trotti, wrote to his master, on the 28th of December : ' The duke Ludovico tells me that he looks for Messer Bartholomew de Calco at any moment, to let him know, that the Pope has been seized and beheaded '. We leave it to

79. Les Borgia, t. II, p. 51.

80. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 89.

the reader, to admit or not, that Ludovico, actuated by his hatred, has allowed himself to calumniate, or to exaggerate in regard to, the Pontiff, when he spoke with Trotti or openly asserted before his council of State, that ' the Pope had just then ordered three women to be procured for him in Rome ; a nun of Valencia, a lady of Castile and a girl of Venice, fifteen or sixteen years old and a picture of beauty '. They openly speak here in Milan as shamefully of the Pope, Trotti adds, " as they would of Torta in Ferrara ".

We did not find a single writer to approve or repeat this particular invective of Ludovico il Moro, the meanest criminal of all that period.

Neither is there an author, not even a Matarazzo, to vouch for the truth of a similar isolated assertion of Marin Sanuto, a Venetian patriot always hostile to pope Alexander VI, who writes, from information received in Venice, he says, that Giovanni de Borgia, the duke of Gandia, who had lately, in the year 1496, arrived in Rome, had brought with him a Spanish woman for the Pope to live with [81] !

The Perugian chronicle, attributed to Francis Matarazzo, ventures a step farther than Ludovico il Moro, when it asserts that the Pope was keeping many concubines [82] ; and de l'Epinois contents himself with observing that the expression " many ", appears to be very exaggerated ; although he says, on the occasion of this same passage, that the chronicle assumes very often the character of a satire [83]. Gregorovius himself plainly states that Matarazzo is devoid of all authority and must be elimineted from the list of historical writers of his time [84].

Progressing farther still on this path of calumny, J. Addington Symonds, exhibits his ignorance as well as his prejudice,

81. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 94.
82. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 397, from Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. XVI, P. I, p. 3.
83. Ibid., footn. 2.
84. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 181.

when, in biting Oriental style, he writes : " Alexander's relations to Vannozza Catanei, the titular wife first of Giorgio de Croce and then of Carlo Carnale, and to Giulia Farnese, the titular wife of Orsino Orsini, were open and acknowledged. These two sultanas ruled him during the greater portion of his career, conniving meanwhile at the harem, which, after truly Oriental fashion, he maintained in the Vatican ". Symonds does not know that the other enemies of pope Alexander VI agree to admit, that Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis, the elderly mother of the Borgia children, never set a foot into the Vatican palace ; he is ignorant of the fact, that the Vannozza, the wife of Giorgio de Croce and then of Carlo Canale, was a lady of about the same age as the Borgia children, and never had any relation whatever either with them or with pope Alexander VI. Of Julia Farnese we are to speak forthwith.

The reader will, no doubt, have noticed already, that each of the last accusations, which combine to make de l'Epinois' and Symonds' papal harem, is a solitary assertion, without any proof or discussible detail, subject only to a plain denial. It may, however, be noted that the Vatican palace was not, at the time, the vast group of buildings which it is to-day. All its halls and apartments had their known destination, and were often crowded with cardinals, Cesar de Borgia and his condottieri, or with visitors, like king Charles VIII and members of his court, or with the princes of Ferrara. There was no room left for a lot of lewd and boisterous women, to be hidden from scores of people and, in particular, from the foreign ambassadors calling daily on the Sovereign Pontiff. An outrage, like that of concubines in the papal palace, would have caused indignation meetings in the City, to say the least; and would, in one day, have been published all over the Catholic world. And yet, Rome continued to obey and respect pope Alexander VI ; and yet, neither Burchard nor the Neapo-

litan poets, not one of the foreign envoys nor even Giustinian, who accused the Pontiff of comparatively insignificant faults, not another writer utters a word of the infamous incrimination. The ancient Matarazzo and the recent Symonds have simply told a " Papstfabel ", an untruth on a great Pope.

The Civiltà Cattolica has published [85] from the manuscript diary of Marin Sanuto, a scandalous extract, which has been copied by Gregorovius [86] and de l'Epinois [87]. It is as follows: " From Rome we learn by letters of our envoy and of private persons an occurrence very abominable in the Church of God; that a son was born to the Pope from a Roman married lady ; that her father had pandered her ; and that her husband invited his father-in-law to his house, and killed him by cutting off his head, which he stuck on a piece of wood and wrote on the wood letters that said the following words : " This is the head of my father-in-law who pandered his daughter to the Pope " ; and that the Pope, having been informed of this, ordered the murderer to be expelled from Rome and to pay a fine !

Gregorovius himself, although always adverse and often unjust to pope Alexander VI, is shocked at the enormity of the crime, which he declares to be almost incredible, although said to be reported by a Venetian ambassador and in private letters. He ascribes it to the love of scandal, which was from old luxuriantly flourishing in Rome, he says. He excludes it from his own German writing and dismisses the whole story by calling it an outrageous incident.

The habitual hostility of Sanuto and the vagueness with which he indicates his informers, who are nowhere to be found, authorize us to doubt the truth of his relation, and the absence of any such record in the letter to Sylvio Savelli,

85. Number of the 15th of Mch., 1873, p. 727.

86. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 94, n. 2.

87. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 401, n. 1.

in the diary of Burchard, in the histories of Sigismondo dei Conti, and in the dispatches of other ambassadors; while the extraordinarily scandalous facts, if real, could not have been concealed, allow us to consider the tale of Sanuto as an impudent fiction, the details of which argue its intrinsic improbability. It is hardly possible, indeed, that the unnatural father should have had the needed opportunities to plot with the Pontiff the surrender of his daughter living with and in the care of her husband. Then follows the question whether the Pope and the father had confessed their infamy to the injured husband, or whether the adulterous woman had accused both the Pope and her own father. In this latter case the Pontiff might be a culprit, but not a convict. Furthermore, we should wonder that a man conscious of having pandered for immoral purposes the wife of his son-in-law, would accept an invitation to his secluded home, " vigna ", without any suspicion of probable revenge. Again, a murderer will, in all civilized lands, try to cover every trace of his crime, but here the felon dares to erect a ghastly monument to his boasted misdeed. Finally, at a time when justice was most severe, a parricide is condemned by the Sovereign, whom he has personally insulted, to move a mile farther away and pay a fine ! Sanuto has created a truly abominable and wholly incredible event, not in the Church of God, but in his imagination devoid of needed intelligence.

CHAPTER IX.

Alexander VI and Julia Farnese.

ARTICLE I. — WHO WAS JULIA FARNESE ?

Contemporary writers either insinuate or plainly bring forth still another most grievous accusation against pope Alexander VI, namely, that of concubinage with the noble lady Julia Farnese ; and the modern enemies of that Pontiff rehearse and amplify the charges of the original accusers.

Julia Farnese was the daughter of the Roman baron Pierluigi, lord of Farneto, Ischia, Caprarola and Capodimonte [1], and of Giovanuella Gaetani, whose father, Honoratus II, was lord of Sermoneta and its vast dependencies [2]. On the 21st of May [3], 1489, she was married to Ursinus, the son of baron Ludovico Orsini, lord of Bassanello, and of Adriana del Milá [4], who was the daughter of Pietro del Milá, the first cousin of pope Alexander VI, cardinal Roderic de Borgia, at that time. Thus did Julia Farnese become by her marriage the Pontiff's relative in the mixed second and fourth collateral degree, which was a very close relationship, especially at a time when marriage was forbidden within the seventh degree.

We have had occasion to observe that the family Borgia was rather clannish, and that pope Alexander VI was favorable and affectionate towards all the members of his house ; and we may readily infer that Julia Farnese secured by her marriage to his cousin, the good will and favor of her eminent

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1. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 36.
2. Ibid., s. 122.
3. Not on the 29th, as de l'Epinois says : Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 397.
4. von Reumont, ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, t. XVII, p. 325

relative ; all the more since the young bride was gifted with still greater mental than bodily beauty ; intelligent, prudent and gentle as she was [5].

The young lord Ursinus Orsini had a choice of habitations, wherein to receive his spouse. There was his palace of Monte Giordano, on the south side of, and close to, the bridge of Sant' Angelo, from which his widowed mother, Adriana del Milá, retired to the palace of Santa Maria in Porticu, at the South corner of the steps of St. Peter's basilica, where she continued to take care of the foster children of her cousin, cardinal de Borgia. He had also his castle of Bassanello to offer her, in the hills near Cività Castellana. Since the marriage took place in the hot season of the year, Gregorovius reasonably presumes that he took his bride to Bassanello [6]. As the Roman nobility is still doing, he probably passed the summer in the country and the winter in Rome. Infessura notices, that, on the 3d of July, 1493, the wind blew down one of the chimneys of the dwelling of Orsini, the husband of Julia la Bella Farnese, on Monte Giordano [7]. Ursinus Orsini, the cousin of pope Alexander VI, " nepos noster ", and his wife Julia Farnese had a special devotion towards the martyr, St. Lannus, whose head was kept under the altar of one of the chapels of their parochial church of Bassanello, and they petitioned the Pontiff for an indulgence to all who would contribute to the improvement of that chapel. On the 30th of April, 1495, the Pope granted their request [8]. Gregorovius states that Julia had lived with her husband, Ursinus Orsini, in Bassanello, where also his mother probably retired after

5. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 76 ; de l'Epinois, ap. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 399, n. 2 : According to a Venetian letter " apud " Sanuto : La favorita del papa, giovane sposa di grande bellezza, intelligente, savia e di dolce carattere.

6. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 38.

7. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 83.

8. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull. Div., an. I, III. Regest. 880, p. 200.

the death of the Pope, and that she was in that town, in the year 1504, to bury her sister Girolama [9].

From these few notes it appears that Ursinus Orsini and Julia Farnese continued to dwell together as Christian and pious people ; and Gregorovius has not a single authority besides his imagination, to assert that the young husband was soon inclined or was compelled to live apart at some of his country places, while his wife, Julia, was placed by the Pontiff in the palace of St. Mary in Porticu, as a court lady to Lucretia de Borgia [10]. This baseless invention, made to create some ground for his villainous crimination, is incredible, for the very reason, that Julia's rank was, at this time, far superior to that of Lucretia, who might rather have been a maid of honor to Julia Orsini.

It is more than probable, however, that Ursinus and Julia, either singly or together, often visited their mother, at the palace in Porticu, and were visited by her at Monte Giordano; nor would it be unreasonable to believe that cardinal Roderic de Borgia occasionally met his relatives at either place. Gregorovius might even have assumed that, after the cardinal had been unanimously elected to the Apostolic See, Julia Farnese ventured a few times to accompany to the Vatican her mother-in-law, who was engaged and paid for taking care of the wardrobe of the Pontiff. These are suppositions not found in any contemporary writing; but, should cardinal de Borgia have been known to call upon his cousins and nieces, when Julia was present, or should he, when a Pope, ever have been seen to meet her with her mother-in-law at the apostolic palace, there would have been a sufficient cause to make the tongues of habitual slanderers wag with scorn.

Julia Farnese, her mother-in-law, Adriana and her sister, Girolama, had been made prisoners by the invading French

9. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. s. 317, 318. | 10. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 66.

troops, but had soon been set free again. The two first ladies returned to their palaces in Rome, on Monday, the 1st of December, 1494, according to the envoy of Mantua, George Brognolo, whose report is accepted by Gregorovius [11] and Pastor [12]. But a certain Pandolfo Collenuccio, without speaking of lady Adriana, wrote : " Julia has been liberated, and Messer John Marades went to receive her ; she came to Rome, and it is said that, last Sunday, she stopped over night in the Palace " [13]. It may suffice to remark, that neither Brognolo nor cardinal Caesarini [14], who also reports the event, say a word of the suspicious particular, which Collenuccio himself assigns to the day previous to Julia's arrival in Rome, and under the slanderer's mark, " dicesi ", they say.

No cause nor occasion was needed to revile pope Alexander VI. Hatred against him and revenge were enough to make his original traducers utter the fiercest charges, by way of insult, without intimating the least reason for it.

ARTICLE II. — FALSE CHARGES AGAINST JULIA.

Infessura, the calumniator of all the Popes of this time, had written in terms which Muratori, his publisher, had judged unfit for print, that " Julia Bella, called Farnese, the Pope's concubine ", was among the first ladies admitted to the wedding supper of Lucretia de Borgia, in the year 1495 [15]. de l'Epinois lays stress on this detail of Julia's presence [16]; but, is it any wonder, when we consider that Julia Farnese was the nearest relative in Rome of both the bride and of the Pontiff ?

11. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 88 and n. 2.
12. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 320, 824.
13. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, ubi supra.
14. Rome, Bibl. Barberin., Cod. XXXIII, 48, f° 24 or seq.
15. Interpolation of Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 80 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 63.
16. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 399.

Sanazzar, already gauged by Ranke [17], repeats Infessura's assertion, in an obscene distich [18], and Matarazzo rehearses it in his doubtful chronicle [19]. But, the agreement of these three writers, to vilify a Roman Pontiff is, for any reader acquainted with their character, an abundant justification of their victim.

de l'Epinois carefully gathers [20] the malicious taunts of " favorita, amante " or " creatura del Papa ", which, for want of foundation for any definite blame, Sanuto and some other Venetian patriotic writer have applied to Julia Farnese and to an unknown damsel drowned in the Tiber. They wanted to denigrate a Pope who had effectually restrained the ambitious designs of their republic. A regular refutation can lay no hold on these sarcastic epithets, which, moreover, deserve only to be simply neglected.

Much importance is attached by Gregorovius and de l'Epinois [21] to another jeer, that calls Julia Farnese : " Sposa di Chri° ", interpreted as spouse of Christ, or accomplice of the Pope. This is one of the many items contained in a letter of Stephan of Castrocaro [22], wherein the writer himself warns his correspondent of the unreliability of the letter, saying that he has received the enclosed information from a friend of Rome, for whose accuracy he can not vouch ; and he states that he knows not whether the news is all true, but forwards it as it was received [23]. To bring forth such an argument, depreciated at its very source, is rather to weaken the cause. which it was intended to corroborate.

The same authors seem to be aware that, to prove the

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17. Supra, p. 300.
18. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 339, n. 2.
19. Ibid. and Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 397.
20. Ibid., p. 399.
21. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 399.
22. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 644.
23. Castrocaro's letter itself, dated from Florence the 28th of March, 1493, relates facts that took place after that time.

concubinage of pope Alexander VI, they have on hand a desperate task ; for we see them, in search of evidence, step down from invectives to mere satire, to an incoherent lampoon of the crudest kind, drawn also from the diary of the Venetian Sanuto. Gregorovius prints it as a document [24]; but from beginning to end it is just the opposite of historical truth, and really droll, when it asserts that, or asks whether, Julia has not given to the Pontiff three or four children [25].

The assertions and sarcasms of the original accusers of pope Alexander VI did not establish his guilt to the satisfaction of even his modern enemies, if we are to judge from their efforts to produce new or additional arguments, to prove his pretended concubinage.

Vasari has, until recent years, contributed considerably to the idea of unlawful intimacy between the Pope and Julia Farnese, by writing that " Pinturicchio painted in one of the rooms of the Borgia apartments a picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was a portrait of Julia Farnese, and, in the same painting, the head of pope Alexander, venerating her ". Vasari's fable has been repeated by Huber [26] and Gregorovius, who allows himself to say that the Pontiff is worshipping the Madonna [27]. Platner [28] tries to save Vasari's story, by pretending that, for obvious reasons, the head of the Pope had afterwards been obliterated. But the painting was closely examined of late by three experts, who even removed, wherever it seemed desirable, any later washes ; and they concluded, that it was utterly impossible, even from an artistic point of view, that the picture of the Blessed Virgin should

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24. Lucretia Borgia, Bd. II, s. 73, under the title of Dyalogus mortis et pontificis laborantis febre, 1500.

25. Te non defendet Julia : neque enixa est utero terque quaterque tibi (?).

26. Ap. Histor. Taschenbuch, 1875, s. 53.

27. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 295; Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 669, or 685, 4th Ed.

28. Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, II. Th. II, s. 301.

ever have included a figure of pope Alexander [29]. Yriarte himself assures that there is no trace of such impiety, except with the writers of the time, [30] that is, with some calumniators of the Pontiff.

James Imhoff relates [31] that according to a commentator of Rabelais's letters, Julia, the sister of Alexander Farnese, afterwards pope Paul III, was wronged by the Pontiff; that her husband, a man of very high nobility, being convinced of her adultery, put her to death ; and that her brother received a cardinal's hat, as an object of consolation and a reward of his bawdry. To refute these fierce slanders, it may be sufficient to remark that Julia Farnese was alive yet in the month of March, 1524 [32].

ARTICLE III. — THE POPE'S LETTER TO LUCRETIA DE BORGIA.

von Reumont is quite positive [33] that " the relations of the Pope with Julia Farnese, also after her marriage, are but too well known ". This supposed public knowledge saves him the trouble of giving any proof of his assertions, and he contents himself with adding that they are confirmed by the strange " curiosa " letter, which the Pontiff wrote to Lucretia de Borgia, on the 24th of July, 1494.

There is nothing unusual in this epistle, for one who is acquainted with the circumstances. In the beginning of June, the lord Giovanni Sforza, with his wife Lucretia, departed from Rome for his city of Pesaro, and took with him his mother-in-law, Vanotia Borgia de Cathaneis. He was accompanied also by lady Adriana del Milá, who had, for the

29. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 498 and n. 2.
30. Les Borgia, t. II, p. 49.
31. Genealogia XX illustrium in Hispania Familiarum, p. 25.
32. de l'Epinois, ap. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 397 ; Gregorovius. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 320.
33. Ap. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVI, p. 325.

occasion, been temporarily relieved by the Pope from her regular duties at the Vatican palace, and who took along her daughter-in-law, Julia Farnese. After a couple of weeks, the last two ladies, at the request of Julia's brother, the cardinal Farnese, left Pesaro to visit their own States and those of their near relatives, without obtaining an extension of Adriana's vacation, and without letting the Pontiff know anything of their further journeys. Thereupon pope Alexander VI wrote to Lucretia this familiar and friendly letter :

To express his good will towards her, he gently blamed her for her tardiness in letting him know how she and his beloved son, her husband, were getting along. Then he tells her that the ladies Adriana and Julia had arrived in Capodimonte, where they had found that Julia's brother had died. He further tells her that Julia and her brother, the cardinal, have been so painfully affected by this death, that both have become unwell with fever ; but we confide in God and in Our Glorious Lady, he adds, that they will soon recover. And then : " Truly the lord Giovanni and you have had little regard and consideration for us on the occasion of the departure of Lady Adriana and of Julia, when you let them go away, without our express consent ; for, as it was your duty, you ought to have thought that such sudden leaving without our knowledge could not but displease us very much. And, should you say that they willed it so, because the cardinal Farnese thus willed and ordered it ; you, you should have considered whether that was the way to please the Pope. Now it is done, another time we shall be more prudent and carefully ponder in whose hands we shall confide our affairs. We, through the grace of God and of Our Glorious Lady, we are very well ". He further tells Lucretia of his interview with the king of Naples, and of the pleasure it has procured him, and also of the instant understanding with the Colonna. He finishes by saying : For the present we have nothing more

to write than that you must attend to your health, and be devout to Our Glorious Lady [34].

It will easily be noticed that, in the passage, which scandalized von Reumont, the blame does not relate to Julia Farnese, but to lady Adriana del Milá, since the consequent threat of confiding his affairs to other hands evidently regards the latter only.

We have seen, however, that Adriana did not lose her position, and from the tenor of the whole letter it sufficiently appears that the Pontiff only intended to make a friendly complaint, having nothing of the proportion and less of the significance attributed to it by von Reumont. The historian would not have considered this letter as a confirmation of the charge of concubinage, if he had paid attention to the fact that pope Alexander VI wrote to Lucretia and not to Julia, while Julia herself did not write to him during the several weeks of her absence from Rome ; for this clearly shows that the pretended intimacy between them was extraordinarily limited or, rather, did not exist at all. It proves the very contrary of " the lively union of the Pope and of the absent Julia ", which Gregorovius also is pleased to see in this letter [35], where the mention of Julia's name is, actually, but an incident, in the passage under consideration.

Gregorovius compensates the weakness of his evidence with the strength of his assertion, when he says [36] that there is no doubt of the long lasting adultery of Julia Farnese, although the motive of her passion is a puzzle. It would be a mystery of nature, indeed, a moral impossibility for a youthful intelligent girl, to waste her love on a corpulent, decrepit man of sixty years, whose ecclesiastical condition could not but render him still more repellent to her Christian feelings ; while

34. See Document 208.
35. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 76.
36. Ibid., s. 63.

her high birth and beauty should give her the choice of any sprightly nobleman.

But, what are Gregorovius's arguments to defend his paradoxical contention ?

Without any ground or authority whatever, he assures us [37] that Julia was caught in the net of the dissolute cardinal de Borgia, in the house of lady Adriana del Milá, either before or shortly after her marriage to Ursinus Orsini, which took place on the 21st of May, 1489. To believe the slander [38] we are required to take for it the word of the late traducer of all Popes, and to cast aside the solemn testimonial of the cardinal's irreproachable conduct, given by his unanimous election to the supreme dignity.

There is nothing strange in the fact that the nuptial contract was written, and the marriage of Ursinus Orsini with Julia Farnese was celebrated in the palace of cardinal Roderic de Borgia. His close kinship with the cardinal procured him this honor. Gregorovius remarks [39] that Roderic stands, in the notarial document, at the head of all other witnesses, as the one who had brought about this union, insinuating that Ursinus was expected to be an indulgent husband. He draws on his imagination to make this vile innuendo, and sustains it by a mere particle, " uebrigens ", moreover ; and then hurries to refute himself by telling the truth, that, namely, this marriage had been decided by the now deceased fathers of both parties to the contract, Ludovico Orsini of Bassanello and Pierluigi of Capodimonte. Finally, he agrees that the part taken by the cardinal on this occasion, is sufficiently explained by the family relation existing between him and the bridegroom and his mother [40].

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37. Ibid., s. 38-39.
38. Admitted also, without proof, by Pastor : Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 301, n. 3.
39. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 37.
40. Ibid., s. 38.

ARTICLE IV. — JULIA HAD NO INFLUENCE ON THE POPE.

Gregorovius accuses pope Alexander VI of allowing Julia Farnese to exert undue influence upon him for the advancement of her relatives. If this were true, it would cast a serious blame on the character of the great Pontiff ; yet, it would not logically justify the charge of sacrilegious adultery. But, the question is, whether there is any truth in the allegation.

Gregorovius affirms it upon his own authority and says [41] : " The first reward of Julia's sin was nothing less than the cardinalitial purple for her brother Alexander. The Pope had designated him, together with others, for the dignity, but the nomination was thwarted by the opposition of the Sacred College, at whose head was Giuliano della Rovere ". We dare say that those assertions are absolute falsehoods. The historical facts are as follows : Alexander Farnese was a scion of a great baronial family, perhaps the most faithful to the papacy in the Pontifical States. From a letter of pope Sixtus IV, dated the 24th of April, 1483, we learn that he was then, at the age of fifteen years, a scriptor and an honorary member of the papal household. Pope Innocent VIII elevated him to the rank of an apostolic prothonotary and named him bishop of Montefiascone and of Corneto [42]. On the 6th of September, 1492, he took the oath of treasurer general of the Apostolic Chamber [43]. Thus was the highborn prelate making the stages that usually led to the cardinalitial eminency. When, in the year 1493, the Pontiff had manifested his intention of increasing the Sacred College, the people of Rome requested him to grant a cardinal's hat also to his dutiful

41. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 63.
42. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 39 ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 301, n. 3.
43. Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apostolica, s. 87.

official, Alexander Farnese. Such is the testimony of the contemporary and generally well informed historian, Sigismondo dei Conti [44], who has not, on this occasion, a single word about his sister Julia. Pastor adds [45] that other reporters ascribe the elevation of cardinal Farnese to unlawful relations of the Pope with that cardinal's sister, Julia Farnese; but, in a footnote he cannot mention but Infessura, Matarazzo and Sannazar. Against the first of these he himself warns us, when stating that he is altogether partial and considers the whole creation of cardinals of September, 1493, as a money speculation. Gregorovius and historians generally deny all credibility to Matarazzo, and Sannazar is known as a pagan pornographer.

de l'Epinois is less positive than Gregorovius, when saying that it was likely, " sans doute ", to Julia's influence that her brother Alexander owed his high dignity ; but he also asserts his promotion to have been made in spite of the College of cardinals. This is, however, a wily deception ; for, while it is well known that Giuliano della Rovere and a few other cardinals, to keep intact their own power, violently withstood the creation of twelve more cardinals, in the fall of the year 1493, there is no record whatever of any objection made to the promotion of Alexander Farnese, in particular.

No reliable contemporary writer attributes to the interference of Julia Farnese the advancement of her eminent brother. It is true that Gregorovius [46] and de l'Epinois [47], after him, report the slur of " Cardinale della gonnella ", cardinal of the petticoat, of some Italian defamer, whose name we were unable to discover ; but they certainly try to deceive, when they charge the Roman people with applying the opprobrious

44. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 61.
45. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 391.
46. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 65.
47. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 398.

appellation to a man, whom they had recommended for the great honor, and was leading among them a life which merited his election to the supreme pontificate.

There is one solitary line of ancient writing, to impute the elevation of cardinal Farnese to the pretended intimacy of pope Alexander VI with his sister. It is an extract from a report of the Venetian ambassador, Soranzo [48]. For more than forty years, not a word of blame had been uttered against the promotion of cardinal Farnese. The cardinal was constantly growing in the esteem and consideration of the people and of his colleagues; and, in the year 1534, he was unanimously elected Pope, under the name of Paul III. We must observe that this time was the period in which the hatred and revenge against pope Alexander VI were at their height, in which accusations of all kinds, especially of immorality, were brought forth against his administration and his character; and we may well wonder, that but one man, Soranzo, should have heard of Infessura's and Sannazaro's criminations, and made use of them so as to impair the respect due to another Pontiff. Can we, in justice, believe this single defamer, an ambassador of ambitious Venice, rather than an honest historian and several records and consistorial archives, not one of which relates the creation of the injured cardinal with any disparaging remark ?

From a letter of Lawrence Pucci, dated from Rome on the 24th of December, 1493, and published by Gregorovius [49], it appears that Adriana del Milá and her daughter-in-law, Julia Farnese, had availed themselves of their family relation with the Pope, to intercede in favor of the writer to obtain for him

48. Albèri, Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti, ser. 3, t. VI, p. 314, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 84, n. 5; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 301, n. 3. Speaking of pope Paul III, he says : La sua promozione all cardinalato non fu molto honesta : essendo proceduta per causa oscena, cioè dall'amore e dalla familiarità che avea papa Alessandro VI con la signora Giulia, sua sorella.

49. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 44.

some minor benefice. Indeed, after proposing to cardinal Farnese a certain plan for the espousal of Laura, the infant daughter of Julia, to the lord of Faenza, Lawrence Pucci made the jocose remark that, in case his scheme were to succeed, he expected Madonna Adriana and Madonna Julia to exert themselves, and obtain some good diocese for him [50].

He then called on the ladies, and thanked Julia for what she had done for him, " per quello aveva operato per me ". Lawrence was convinced that the obtaining of the papal favor was not the effect of the ladies' interference, but consequent upon the commendation of Antonio Cancelliere. Yet, Madonna Adriana assured him, that it was not Antonio or his endeavors, but Madonna Julia who had made him obtain the benefice [51]. Lawrence Pucci, seeing no advantage in contradicting her, pretended to believe her and thanked her again [52]. From this it follows that Lawrence believed that the ladies had interested themselves in his behalf and thanked them for their good will, but he well knew their powerlessness with the Pope in the management of ecclesiastical affairs.

Should Julia Farnese have been allowed to exercise any power upon the counsels of the Pontiff, she would, no doubt, have made a supreme effort to save her uncles Giacomo and Gulielmo Gaetani from his wrath ; when, in the year 1499, he deprived them of all their possessions of Sermoneta and of its surrounding territories. But, in spite of all the influence attributed to her, strict justice followed its course :

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50. E anche io spererei, achordandosi per mezo nostro tal cosa, che Madnna Adriana e Madnna Julia havessino a operare per me in otenere qualche buona chiesa.

51. Girolama, Julia's sister, had written to the same effect, on the 21st of the previous October, to her husband, Puccio Pucci, Lawrence's brother Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 65 ; de l'Epinois, apud Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 397-398.

52. E Madnna Adriana replichò ch'io fussi certo di questo che epsa Madnna Julia, e non Meser Antonio Cancelliere o sua imbasciata me avessino fatto otenere quelli benefiti. Mostrai crederlo per non chontradire e ringratiai ancora Sa Sigria.

her mother's brother, Gulielmo, to avoid further punishment, fled to Mantua and her other uncle, the prothonotary, Giacomo, died a prisoner in the fortress of Sant' Angelo.

ARTICLE V. — WAS LAURA ORSINI THE PONTIFF'S CHILD ?

Pastor tells us [53] that all further doubt of the illicit intercourse of pope Alexander VI with Julia Farnese is removed by the letter of Lawrence Pucci, published by Gregorovius. The extracts of that epistle, which we have just recalled to memory, strongly militate, on the contrary, against the accusation. But it is intimated in the same letter that Laura Orsini, born of Julia in the year 1492, was the Pontiff's child ; and this is what we are now to consider.

Indeed Lawrence Pucci boastingly wrote to his brother of the impudence, which, he said, he had shown towards the cardinal Farnese, by telling him to his face that he believed the little Laura Orsini to be a daughter of the Pope [54]. We cannot refrain from doubting whether Lawrence, the young cleric, was actually daring and inconsiderate enough to thus insult a cardinal, who was to be his protector, by openly declaring his suspicion of Julia's, the cardinal's own sister's, adultery ; for, while the false double standard of morality was prevalent among the Italian nobility and a lascivious conduct brought little shame upon a gentleman and his illegitimate offspring, one immoral act was sufficient to disgrace a noble lady forever and to shut the gates to her of all neighboring castles. Gregorovius states that Lawrence does not mention in his letter any answer made by cardinal Farnese to the impudent remark ; but we cannot help thinking that he received an appropriate reply, in which he could not glory and which he deemed fit to hide from his brother.

53. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 301, n. 3.

54. Io chredo che questa puta sia figlia del Papa.

However this may be, the reader will notice that, after all, Lawrence Pucci here utters but a gratuitous suspicion, unfounded on any reason or evidence.

Before finishing his letter, the following day, he did not surmise or believe any longer ; for he had seen that Laura was the Pontiff's daughter ! On Christmas eve he visited at the palace of Santa Maria in Porticu, where he met the ladies Adriana del Milá, Julia Farnese and Lucretia de Borgia. He was shown the infant, Laura, about a year old, and made himself ridiculous by recognizing upon the tiny face of the baby girl, the features of a Pope over sixty years of age ! [55]. Should Lawrence Pucci be alive yet, he would certainly be appointed a supreme judge of all the baby shows of America.

Those are all the salient points of the letter which, according to Pastor, apodictically establishes the guilt of concubinage of a Sovereign Pontiff, while it actually proves only the baseless suspicion of an impudent and silly young man.

That Laura, the daughter of Julia Farnese, was not the child of pope Alexander VI, but of Julia's husband, Ursinus Orsini, is ascertained by the plain statement of several authentic documents. Gregorovius has published [56] the notarial act of the espousals of Laura Orsini to Frederic Farnese ; and it reads as follows : " Be it known to all men that, on the 2d day of April, 1499, the Magnificent and noble lord Ursinus Orsini, father and lawful administrator of lady Laura, his legitimate and natural daughter, of the age of seven years, here present... and in the presence of the Most reverend lord Alexander cardinal Farnese, uncle of the said girl, on the one hand... and the Reverend lord Peter Paul Farnese, prothonotary of the apostolic See, uncle of the Magnificent and noble

55. Volse (Madonna Julia) ch'io vedessi la fanciulla, la quale è già grande et, ut mihi videtur, est similis Pontifici, adeo ut vere ex ejus semine orta dici possit : Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 46.

56. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. II, s. 65.

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youth Frederic, twelve years old, the legitimate and natural son of the late Raymund Farnese, for whom he promised to ratify within a month this writing of nuptial contract... I Camillus Beneimbene " [57].

On the 1st of March, 1502, pope Alexander VI wrote to his bankers, de Spannochiis : " Beloved sons... Since, by our direction, and for the settlement of a lawsuit between our beloved son, the Roman baron Paulus Orsini and the heirs of the late Ursinus Orsini, you have promised to pay to our beloved daughter, Laura, daughter and heiress of the said deceased Ursinus, or to her tutrix, the sum of two thousand ducats... " [58].

In November, 1505, the notary public, Cam. Beneimbene, wrote in the papal palace, in the presence of pope Julius II, the contract of marriage between Laura, the daughter of Julia Farnese and the Pontiff's nephew, Nicholas della Rovere, brother of cardinal Galeotto della Rovere... " in the presence also of the Magnificent and noble lady Julia Farnese, widow of the late Magnificent lord Ursinus Orsini, mother and guardian of the Magnificent adult lady Laura, her and the late lord Ursinus's legitimate and natural daughter and universal heiress... " [59].

What could be clearer and, at the same time, more authoritative than those valuable papers ? And yet, Gregorovius, who pretends to write from documents exclusively, throws them aside as worthless material, when he ventures to say : Julia's child officially passed for the one of her husband Orsini, but the Pope was actually her father [60] ; as if " officially " were but a word of no account, although it means that the names and descriptions of the persons concerned must be correct and true, if an official act is to be of any effect. We might, therefore, as well deny that Laura was ever af-

57. See Document 209a.
58. See Document 209b.
59. See Document 209c.
60. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 66.

fianced or married, as that she was not the child of her designated father Ursinus Orsini. Moreover, these documents name her, in consequence of her parentage, as the heiress of Ursinus Orsini, which she could not have been, nor could any question have arisen about an adjustment of lawsuit between Paulus Orsini and the heirs of Ursinus, with Laura included, if she had actually been the child of the Pontiff.

Other enemies of pope Alexander VI, like Pastor [61], Yriarte [62] and de l'Epinois [63] do not depreciate the documents; they, more easily, ignore them.

To uphold his accusation of the Pontiff, Gregorovius is compelled to, and bravely does, condemn a dozen or more other honorable persons. On several occasions we have found the elderly widow, Adriana del Milá, to act and to be treated as an honest and trustworthy lady ; but the slanderous historian represents her as a malicious and despiable being, that was aware of and cooperated in the ruin of her daughter-in-law and the disgrace of her own son [64]. He describes the great baronial family Farnese as a covetous race, that exultantly reaped the fruit of their young sister's misconduct. They even pandered her to her seducer, and Giovanni, Gaetani, Julia's mother herself, invited him to a banquet in the castle of Capodimonte [65] ! Nay, the Borgias, of whom there were many in Rome, became guilty of granting to the Farnese their friendship and favors, because of their sister's criminal relations with the head of their house, Gregorovius says [66]. And what should we think of Ursinus Orsini, if it were true that he retired from Rome, abandoning his spouse quietly in the hands of her accomplices ?

What a fearful havoc of morality and of self-respect among

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61. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 301.
62. Les Borgia, t. II, P. 47.
63. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 399.
64. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 23, 39.
65. Ibid., Bd. I, s. 63, 65, 66.
66. Ibid., s. 66.

the very leaders of the Italian nobility Gregorovius had to work, before he could make his villainous charge against Julia Farnese and pope Alexander VI !

Nor was Julia's young husband the only one to defend her honor. She had been placed at her marriage under the protection [67] of her brothers, Angelus and Alexander Farnese, and of her uncles, Giacomo and Nicholas Gaetani, with whom were also present cardinal John Baptist Orsini and Raymund Orsini, archbishop of Florence [68], to stand for the bridegroom. Considering the high rank and station of the accused parties, we shall readily admit that their pretended misbehavior could not remain concealed for any length of time ; but ere long the just indignation of those proud and powerful protectors would have put an end to the assaults of an unworthy cardinal or of a still powerless Pope, and have taken revenge against him. Yet, of any forcible proceedings or even of any complaint or objection there is not a word, not a hint in any record of the time ; but we know, on the contrary, that cardinal Orsini contributed his vote to the elevation of cardinal Roderic de Borgia to the supreme pontificate.

An historical fact which greatly puzzles the calumniators of pope Alexander VI, is the marriage of Laura Orsini with Nicholas della Rovere, the nephew of pope Julius II. Symonds calls it [69] a curious and unexplained incident, and Gregorovius asserts that it took place to the great astonishment of the whole city of Rome—or, at least, of himself ; and he adds that the consent of Julius II is one of the most amazing events of the personal history of that Pope [70]. And indeed, if Laura was, as they pretend, the adulterine and sacrilegious child of a dead Pope, who, at that very time, was hated and calum-

67. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 37 Unter dem Schutze ihrer Brüder und ihrer Oheime.

68. Ibid., Bd. II. Docum. nr. 3.

69. Renaissance in Italy, p. 371, n.

70. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 318.

niated by nearly all the nobility of the Pontifical States, it should be a wonder that she was acceptable to the new prince, Julius II's favored nephew. But the Pope himself was a bitter enemy of his predecessor [71] and detested whatsoever was related to the Borgias. Yet, he did admit into his palace and to his presence the branded concubine of the hated Alexander VI, and did enter into an accord with her, to make her the mother-in-law of his beloved first nephew [72] !

Such a reception in the papal apartments and such a marriage contract appear to be not only surprising, but simply impossible, especially to all who are acquainted with the natural dispositions of pope Julius II. Every objection, however, and every difficulty vanish and pass away as soon as the slander is set aside, and Julia Farnese's daughter, Laura, is admitted to be the legitimate and natural child and the universal heiress of Ursinus Orsini, as it is expressed in the official document [73].

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71. Idem, ibid., s. 319.
72. Gregorovius, ibid. and Bd. II. Docum. 54.
73. See Document 209c.

CHAPTER X.

The Infant Giovanni de Borgia.

ARTICLE I. — WHOSE SON WAS GIOVANNI ?

The reader will forgive us for spending so much time and space on the nauseous objections made against the morality of pope Alexander VI, when he considers that the object of our work is to gather material for that Pontiff's history, which has generally been degraded to a lengthy scandalous tale of his pretendedly licentious conduct. After having established, in the two first volumes, the purity of his life, during his youth and his cardinalate, we now feel confident of having adduced sufficient facts and historical details, to clear away the endless objections, with which his enemies have tried to defile the years of his glorious papacy. In fact, but one more charge remains to be examined, namely, whether the disgrace of the illegitimate birth of the Roman Infant, Giovanni de Borgia, which the Pope is said to have claimed for himself, really pertains to him.

The question arises from the fact that, among the records of the Vatican Archives, there have been inserted two spurious bulls, or rather briefs, of legitimation of the Infant Giovanni, in the former of which he is declared to be an illegitimate son of Cesar de Borgia, duke of Romagna and Valentinois ; and, in the latter the Pope is made to assert that Giovanni is a son of himself and of an unmarried lady, whom Burchard designates as a Roman [1]. Both interpolations bear the date of the 1st of September, 1501, and describe the Infant as

1. Diar., t. III, p. 170.

being in his third year of age or thereabouts. We shall presently devote our attention to these so-called papal bulls.

Giovanni's parentage is called mysterious by de l'Epinois [2] and other modern authors. In fact, his mother raised him privately till he was able to run about, when she occasionally sent him to the Pontiff, to whom Cesar de Borgia had confided his secret, and who did not refuse charitably to protect this son [3] of a nephew, for whom also he had acted like a father, and who was, just now, rendering him the most important services, as Captain general of his army.

When the little Giovanni was first seen in the company of pope Alexander VI, a few people suspected that he must be the Pontiff's child, and not Cesar's, who had, the last three years, been mostly away from Rome, in the kingdom of France or in the northern parts of the Pontifical States. One of these was the simple minded John Burchard [4], or one of his interpolators.

In pretending that the Infant Giovanni de Borgia was not the son of the duke of Valentinois, but of Alexander VI, von Pastor insists on the reliability of Sigismondo de Conti, who generally accuses him of raising children in his extreme old age and alludes to Giovanni [5].

Sigismondo gives no information of the infancy and youth of Roderic de Borgia, no more than Pastor ; he praises his cardinalate by [5a] saying that the five Popes, under whom he served, prized him very highly, on account of his virtue and great qualities, which procured him the unanimous election of all his colleagues, so that he seemed to be declared Souverain Pontiff, not by the voice of men, but by the voice of God [5b]. Sigismondo reports [5c] that only two or three

2. Revue des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 402.
3. Villari, Dispac. di Ant. Giustinian, vol. I, p. 100.
4. Diar., ubi supra.
5. Le Storie de Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 253.
5a. Ibid., vol. II, p. 53.
5b. Ibid., vol. II, p. 54.
5c. Ibid., p. 90.

years before the birth of the Infant Giovanni, the worthy cardinals Antonino Pallavicini, Giovanni of Alexandria, Bernard di Carvajal and Riario, applying to the Pope the epithet of a Saint, mitigated the animosity of king Charles VIII, excited by false representations against his morality. And the historian personally attests the veracity of the eminent prelates.

But as soon as the Pontiff becomes powerless in his grave, Sigismondo changes his mind and his tone. Pastor himself accuses him of becoming steadily more severe on him, and of siding with the princes' historiographers, who made of him a pattern of all that is bad and wicked [5d].

Among many other incriminations, Sigismondo imputes to the deceased Pope the ambitious intention [5e] of subjugating Toscany, of establishing Cesar de Borgia a perpetual dictator of Rome, and, therefore, of depriving all the Roman barons of their ancestral cities. After passing over several other injurious and disparaging remarks, we should not forget that Sigismondo was one of the first historians to speak of poison, as the cause of pope Alexander's death [5f].

After statements so opposite, according to circumstances of time, what confidence can be placed in the sincerity of Sigismondo de Conti, for the decision of a question, one side of which Pastor alleges Giustinian, whose very words we here quote in favor of the opposite solution ?

Giustinian, the astute ambassador of Venice in Rome, who searched the happenings at the papal court, to daily inform the Venetian Seigniory, although he tried on several occasions to impair the moral character of the Pontiff, stated, on the 18th of August, 1502, that pope Alexander VI had been out of Rome, " to assign a place to the son of the duke of Valen-

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5d. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 473.

5e. Le Storie dei Suoi Tempi, vol. II, p. 267.

5f. Ibid., p. 268.

tinois, a small boy of about five to six years old, whom some few, " alcuni ", say that he is the child of the Pope ", he adds [6]. Two days later, he wrote to Venice that " the Pontiff will go to the former territories of the Colonna, and will take with him the two little boys, that is, the one of Madonna Lucretia, and the other, declared to belong to the Duke " [7]. On the 6th of September, he reported that " the Pope is to name vicar of Camerino the little Giovanni, who is generally called the son of the Duke, although a few say that he is the Pope's child " [8]. Giustinian thus expressed the official declaration, the belief of the Roman people and his own, in spite of a few exceptions, that Giovanni was the offspring of Cesar de Borgia. Later, on the 6th of November, 1503, the same Giustinian states that pope Julius II was negotiating a family alliance with the duke of Valentinois, by offering his niece, Porzia, a granddaughter of his brother, the prefect Giovanni della Rovere, as future wife of Cesar's son, " uno di soi Duchetti ", who had been invested by pope Alexander with the duchy of Camerino [9].

On the next day, September the 7th, 1502, the ambassador apprised his Seigniory of the main contents of a papal bull of the 2d, which not only removes all doubt of the filiation of the Roman Infant, Giovanni, from Cesar de Borgia ; but declares him to be so legitimated, that he is to be regarded as Cesar's lawful first-born. Following is the literal translation of Giustinian's statement : " At the Consistory... Lastly, (the Pope) ordered the bull to be issued by which he constituted Vicar and duke of Camerino the small boy, the declared

6. Villari, Disp., vol. I, p. 94.
7. Ibid., p. 100.
8. Ibid., p. 109.
9. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 283 and footn. p. seq.
Neither did Polo Cappello, the Venetian envoy in Rome, consider the Infant Giovanni as a son of the Pope, when, in the year 1500, he wrote that Alexander VI had three children : Cesar, Lucretia and Jofre : H. de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 374, Ref. to Albèri, Relazioni, t. II, p. 11.

son of the Duke (of Valentinois) Don Giovanni by name ; with this privilege, that the first-born of the descendants of the Duke (of Valentinois) should always be held as duke of Camerino ; and this has been a cause of great wonder to everyone, because by this bull he makes this son the first-born of the Duke, to the prejudice of the sons that shall be lawfully born to his lady " [10].

Nor is the bull, here announced by the ambassador, the only document in which the Infant Giovanni is designated as a son of Cesar de Borgia, and not of pope Alexander VI.

By a bull of the 10th of September, 1501, the Pontiff named the cardinals Antoniotto Pallavicini, Johannes Sangiorgio, Hippolyte d'Este and Francis de Borgia, confiding all the management to the last named cardinal, as tutors of " the noble Giovanni de Borgia, the Roman Infant and duke of Nepi, who was in his third year of age or thereabouts, and suffered from the deficiency of legitimate birth, being born, as he is, from our beloved son the noble lord Cesar Borgia de Francia, duke of Romagna and of Valencia, our standard bearer and captain general of the Holy Roman Church, a married man, and from a single lady ; of which defect, however, we have with apostolic authority granted him sufficient dispensation " [11].

This record was unreliable and suspicious, being intercalated on doubtful pages of the papal register, at a late day, in spite of law and of universal practice ; and that it is a mere forgery becomes evident from the discovery of an apostolic brief, regularly recorded on folio 144 of Register 871. This brief makes, indeed, altogether superfluous, and consequently nullifies the former pretended bull; since it provides,

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10. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 109.

11. Acta S. Consist. ab an. 1498 and 1644, t. XIV, f° 33. See Document 210a.

yet in a different form, for the nomination and rights of the tutors of the Infant Giovanni de Borgia. It is needless to say that here also Giovanni is designated as " the illegitimate son of the Illustrious Lord Cesar de Borgia, duke of Valencia and Romagna " [12].

On the 1st of October of the same year, the Pontiff granted the two-thirds of the prairies of Montisalti to Giovanni, duke of Nepi, which Cesar, the duke of Valentinois, had resigned in his favor [13].

The Pope, writing to the community of Gallese, on the 12th of June, 1502, made use of these words :... " of our beloved son, the noble Infant Giovanni, duke of Nepi and child of our beloved son, the noble lord Cesar de Borgia de Francia " [14].

On the 20th of May, 1502, the Pontiff had asked and obtained from the Catholic Kings of Spain, that the possessions of all his best loved nephews and niece and of their heirs should be secured to them in the kingdom of Naples [15]. Had the Infant Giovanni been Alexander's son, he would have been named in the royal diploma ; but besides Jofre, Juan, the son of Giovanni of Gandia, Lucrezia and her son and heir, Roderic, the Infant Giovanni is mentioned only in the expression of " Cesar and his heirs ".

On the 21st of June, 1502, he gave orders to the officials of his treasury to pay three thousand ducats for the two-thirds of the tenure of Montisalti, and four hundred for the

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12. See Document 210b. The record made in A. D. 1531, thus proven false, necessarily impairs the credibility of two more documents recorded at the same tardy time, and which we shall presently consider.

13. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., anno I ad XI, Lib. V. Regest. 871, f° 73.

14. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, t I, s. 195, n. 2, from the Archives of Modena ; and others from him, like de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 401 :... dil. filii nobilis infantis Johannis Borgia ducis Nepesini dilecti filii nobilis viri Caesaris Borgia de Francia etc.

15. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 302, from the Archives of Este.

half of the one of Saxi, " to our beloved son the Infant Giovanni Borgia, our nephew " [16].

On the 21st of July of the same year, pope Alexander VI issued another mandate, in regard to revenues, in favor of " the noble Infant Giovanni Borgia, our nephew " [17].

By all these official documents the Pontiff himself clearly named the little Giovanni de Borgia his own nephew and son of Cesar de Borgia. The tutors of the Roman Infant testified no less effectively to his filiation from the duke of Valentinois, when they accepted the Duke's escutcheon as coat of arms for their pupil, Giovanni. There remain a few coins of this ephemeral duke of Camerino. A silver carlin, with the inscription : Johannes. Bor. Dux. Camerini, bears the Borgian ox and the bands of the Doms, surrounded with the lilies of Cesar de Borgia de Francia [18].

Could any man's parentage be more firmly established ?

It is no wonder, therefore, that later also, after the death of pope Alexander VI, Giovanni was universally held as a son of Cesar de Borgia [19], and that subsequent historians have considered him as such. Thus Çurita, who writes : The Duke Cesar de Borgia... and Giovanni, his son, to whom was given the title of Duke of Camerino and of Nepi... [20].

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16. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Div. Cam., 1501-1503. Armar. 29, no. 54, fo 189vo... dilecto filio infanti Johanni borgia nostro secundum carnem nepoti.

17. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, t I, s. 195, n. 2, from the archives of Modena : Nobili Infanti Johanni Borgia nostro secundum carnem nepoti.

18. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 286, n. ; M. Santoni, in Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica, t. IV, p. 257 : de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 401, n. 2. On the 25th of December, 1503, Giustinian informed the Venetian Seigniory that Cesar de Borgia was speaking of contracting a family alliance, " di imparentarsi ", with the Pope. How could he speak of such a project, while his daughter, Louise, was already engaged in Mantua, unless he had a son, the Infante Geovanni, to affiance with some niece of Pope Julius II ?

19. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 195.

20. Hist. del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. V, Cap. II, fo 261 : El Duque Don Cesar de Borgia... y Don Joan de Borja su hijo, a quien se dió titulo di Duque de

Alvisi relates that, when Giovanni had been made duke of Camerino, his tutor, cardinal Francis de Borgia, went to take possession of the duchy, " accompanied by Cesar, the father of his pupil " [21].

It is true, the Civiltà Cattolica has, in former years, sided with Gregorovius and all the modern enemies of pope Alexander VI, to assert that his last (sic) son was born when Roderic de Borgia was Pope already for some years [22] ; but Clément de Vebron writes [23] : Let us make haste to state that recent publications have induced the learned Review to modify its judgment, in its second fascicle, of August, 1880. Indeed, the long article of the Civiltà Cattolica [24], written in confirmation of Leonetti's apology of pope Alexander VI, is the most complete and outspoken defence of that Pope, which we happened to read anywhere.

ARTICLE II. — TWO INTERPOLATED BULLS TO CONTEST CESAR'S PATERNITY OF THE INFANT GIOVANNI.

Incredible as it may seem to be, an attempt has actually been made to subvert the probatory power of those admitted papal documents, of the monument of the Infant's coin and of the people's general belief, which are the best of all historical evidences. Thirty years after the date assigned to them, on the occasion of a lawsuit of the Infant Giovanni for the possession of the duchy of Camerino, two contradictory

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Camerino y de Nepe... von Reumont calls Roderic, the son of Lucretia, and Giovanni d'Aragonia Borgia the Pope's grandchildren (Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. IV, s. 238, 468), supposing, as he does, that Lucretia and Cesar de Borgia were his children.

21. Cesare Borgia, p. 311 : Che accompagnava il duca padre dei suo pupillo.

22. Ser. 8, t. IX, pp. 722, 727, ap. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, 423, n.

23. Les Borgia, p. 619.

24. Ser. II, vol. III, pp. 485, seq.

benedictionem et gratiam uberius promereri. Nulli etc. nostre approbationis confirmationis decreti erectionis insignationis constitutionis [creationis deputationis statuti ordinationis concessionis mandati indulti liberationis reductionis derogationis et voluntatis infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome Apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. Millesimo quingentesimo secundo Quarto Nonas Septembris Pontificatus nostri Anno Undecimo.

Ego Alexander Catholice Ecclesie Episcopus subscripsi manu propria

Sanctus Petrus Sanctus Paulus

Alexander pp. VI.

In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in eternum.
† Ego A Ste Ro E presbiter Cardinalis tituli Ste praxedis manu propria [subscripsi
† Ego Jo Carlis Montisregalis manu propria ssr.
† Ego Jo Antonius Carlis Alexandrinus manu prop. ssr.
† Ego B. Carlis Ste † susscr.
† Ego Jo Carlis Agrigen sscr.
† Ego Jo tituli Stii Clem[illegible]

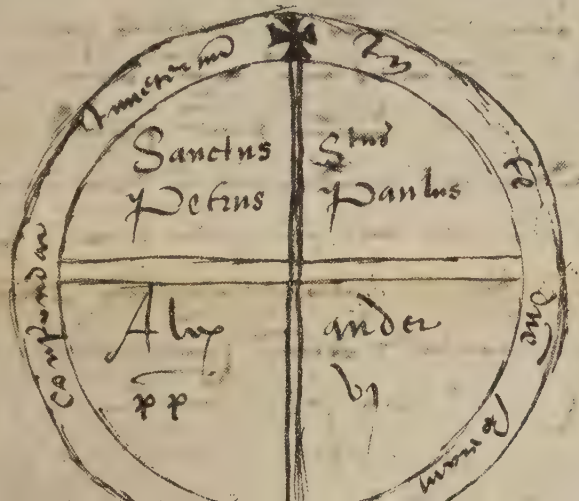
† Ego I tituli S^te Cecilie presbiter, Car^lis Cusentinus manu propria ssi.
† Ego Jo tituli S^te Balbine presbiter Car^lis Salernitanus manu propria sscr.
† Ego L. tituli S^te Aghate presbiter Car^lis Caputaquensis manu pr ssr.
† Ego O Episcopus Septensis S^te Ro ecclesie Car^lis Neap. manu propria sscr.
† Ego Georgius Episcopus Tuscul. Car^lis portugalensis manu propria sscr.
† Ego Jo S^te Marie in dominica diaconus Car^lis de Medicis manu propria sscr.
† Ego I S^te Lucie in Silice Car^lis Astenensis manu propria sscr.
† Ego Jul dia^us cardinalis de Caessarinis manu propria ssr.
† Ego A S^t Cosme et Damiani diaconus Car^lis de farnesio ssr.

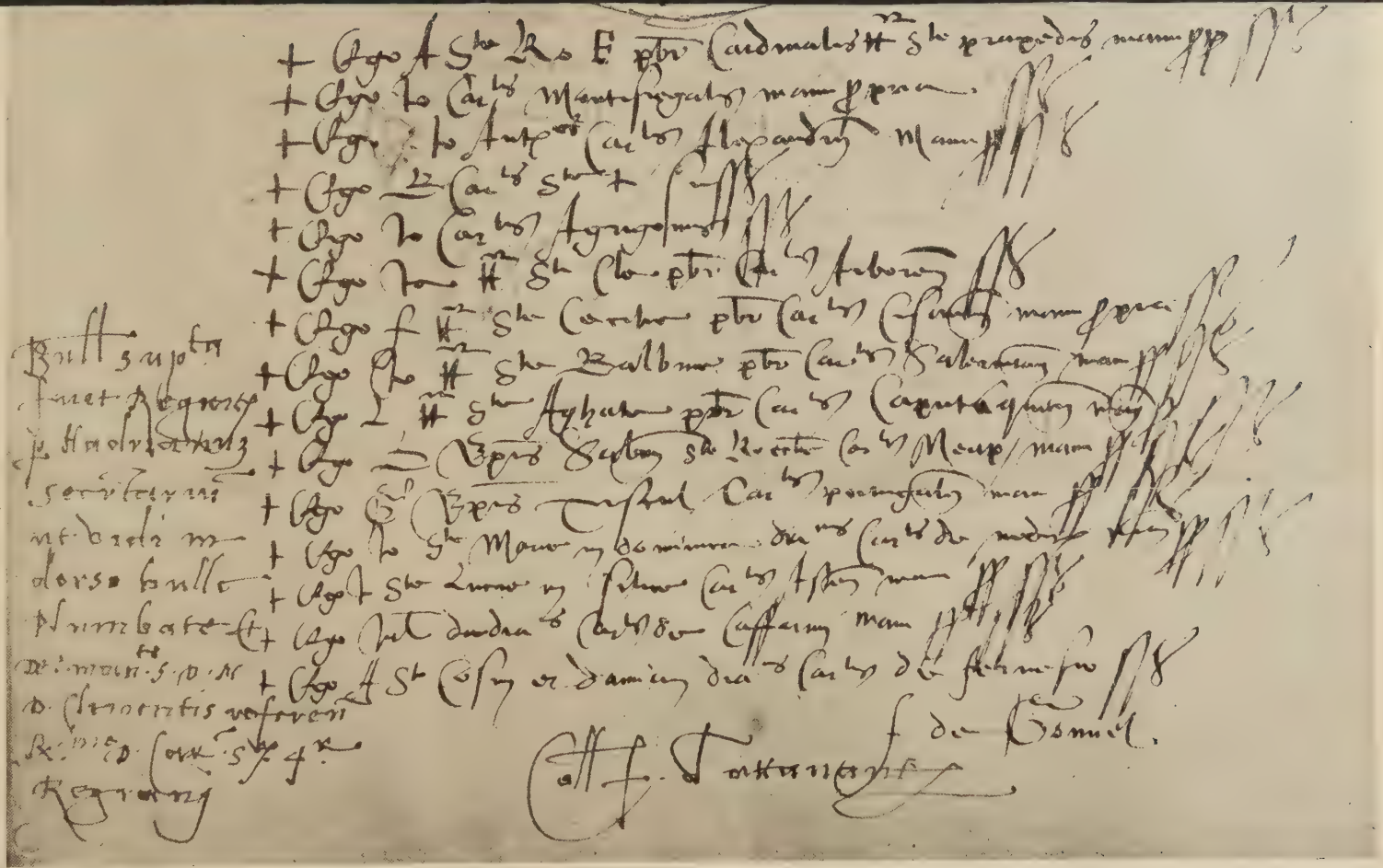
f. de Gomiel

Coll. F. de attanant.

Bulla suprascripta fuit Registrata per Hadrianum secretarium ut vidi in dorso bulle plumbate De man. S. D. N. D. Clementis referente R^mo D. cardinale sanctorum 4^r Registravi.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 871. f° 199.


Sanctus
Petrus
Sanctus
Paulus
Alex
pp
ander
pp



bulls, pretendedly of pope Alexander VI, were forged and their copies inserted into that Pope's authentic registers of records. Gregorovius discovered them in the Archives of Modena and published them, as nos. 29 and 30, in the second volume of his Lucrezia Borgia. They agree with the copies interpolated on fos 135 verso and 174 ; not 176, as Pastor [25] says, of Register 868 of the Vatican Secret Archives. It is noteworthy that these papers, like the disgraceful lampoon about Roderic de Borgia and Vanozza, were copied, to slander the Pontiff, in most of the Roman libraries [26], where Gregorovius found them at first [27].

The first of these bulls is marked, in the Modena Archives, as a Duplicate [28]. If it were a duplicate of a papal document, it would be so indicated at the bottom of the record of the original issue, for all other duplicates were regularly mentioned. This one is not.

The second bull is an Original [29]. Gregorovius states that the leaden seal is missing, but the cord of red and yellow, from which it had hung is at hand. Hence it follows that, while a silken string could readily be attached, the deficient bulla can not attest the authenticity of the contested parchment, which, therefore, may just as likely be forged as genuine. Besides, Pastor relates [30] that, according to Thuasne [31], there is a second original exemplar of this latter bull in the Archives of the duke of Osuna in Madrid. We should, however, observe that a second original of the same bull, addressed to the same Roman Infant Giovanni de Borgia, would, in a sense, be a self-contradiction and a wonder of papal chancery. We have seen a thousand records of original

25. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 449, n. 5.
26. de l'Epinois, Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 400 ; Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 620.
27. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 195, n. 1.
28. Id. ibid.
29. Id. ibid.
30. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 449, n. 5.
31. Diar. Burchardi, t. III, Supplém., p. XIV.

documents and a hundred of duplicates, but never any sign of a double original papal document issued to the same person. We have, moreover, noticed in our First Volume and especially in its Appendix, that the Archives of the duke of Osuna is a veritable arsenal of false bulls against the memory of pope Alexander VI ; and to be admitted into it is, for a papal letter, to incur the suspicion of being a forgery. Nor let Thuasne plead the fact that a silken string with a seal of lead is attached to the parchment. Harry Bresslau will show him [32] how easy it was to fasten even a true seal to a false document.

The Vatican archives establish more evidently the forgery of those two papers.

The Registers of pope Alexander VI should necessarily contain the record of the bull, by which the Pontiff declared to have sufficiently legitimated the Infant Giovanni, when, on the 10th of September, 1501, he assigned four cardinals to be his tutors ; for it was, and is still, a strict law of the Roman court that no authentic bull or brief whatsoever could be sent or handed to any person, if it was not first duly recorded or copied in the papal Registers [33] yet, this legal contemporary record has vanished from the official Registers, and so also has disappeared the bull which it represented. Should the deficient record have been a copy of the bulls found in Modena, there would have been no need nor motive to destroy and replace it, three decades later, by slipping into a Register of pope Alexander VI the two copies of these pretended bulls, thus proved to be differing from the former record of Giovanni's genuine legitimation, and, consequently, spurious. Should it be pretended that these records were the first ever

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32. Urkundenlehre, Bd. I, Cap. XIX, s. 977 ; Cfr. Joan. Mabillon, De Re Diplomatica, p. 131.

33. See Document 207, initio : " ... partium sollicitantium, qui, brevibus ipsis non registratis, ipsorum brevium auctentica sumpta habere hactenus non poterant ".

made ; it must be acknowledged that they were an exceptional transgression of a well observed law ; and, therefore, suggest the suspicion, that the tardy offender, who inserted them into the papal Registers, was guilty also of forging what he wrote.

The two copies are from the same hand and apparently written the same day, yet do not follow each other, for lack of sufficient consecutive space in the Volume ; the former being inserted on the vacant pages of one quire, and the latter on the last pages of the next quire, the first folios of which were covered already by records of pope Alexander's time ; to wit, respectively, on folios 153 verso to 157 verso and 174 to 176 verso of Register 868. That these insertions were not made by a regular recording scriptor of the year 1501, but by some scribe foreign to the Roman court is evidenced by the remarks written at the end of each of them, clearly indicating the time of pope Clement VII. The handwriting is quite peculiar several mistakes of spelling occur, through faulty duplication of consonants, and the abbreviations are so unusually frequent and abnormal, that no student of the Vatican archives will fail to notice at once, that the two records were not entered at the time of their date, nor by one used to the rules of the Roman chancery. A close examiner of these papers will discover several more uncommon features, such as the recorder's signature : " S. Pinzonibus " on the one, and " S. Pinzonus " on the other, and the marginal corrections from different hands [34].

The absence of the one required record and the interpolation of these two argue the suppression of the mentioned bull of the Infant Giovanni's legitimation, to make room for the forged documents, which their contents clearly prove to be misleading, if not impossible.

Gregorovius justly wonders at seeing that pope Alexan-

34. See Documents 211 and 212.

der VI published on the same day, September the 1st, 1501, the two bulls ; by the former of which he declared the Infant Giovanni de Borgia an illegitimate son of Cesar, the duke of Valentinois, and by the other, his own son. The historian attempts to account for the strange fact, by asserting that, since Canon Law forbade a Pope to legitimate his own child, Alexander VI commenced with telling a lie, asserting the Infant to be Cesar's son ; and, when legitimated as such, Giovanni could be lawfully recognized as son of the Pope [35]. This explanation is, however, but a daring invention. In fact, there was at no time any legislation whatever on a subject considered as impossible ; but there was in vigor a canon that made null and void any papal rescript obtained on the strength of untrue statements [36].

To one, who would consider the papers as authentic, a more natural and obvious motive would offer itself, namely, that the Pope, having lost all sense of honor and sound reason, juxtaposed the contradictory bulls and published them simultaneously, to prevent anyone from possibly overlooking his deliberate falseness and mendacity. He, indeed, utters another lie, when he says, in the second bull, that, for good reasons, " bono respectu ", he has been unwilling to express, in the first, that the Roman Infant Giovanni owed the defect of a lawful birth to himself, the Pope. What good reasons could they be, those that existed no more to prevent the acknowledgment in the second bull, issued on the same day, at the same moment as the former, and destined to be read immediately after ? Actually, those good reasons existed and existed not at the same time !

In spite of his own statement, the Supreme Pontiff thinks to have no motive to conceal his immorality and shame; and,

35. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 195.

36. De Rescriptis, Lib. I, Decretal. Tit. III; Codex Juris Can., Can. 40, 42, § 2.

with unprecedented effrontery, solemnly publishes himself as the sacrilegious father of a bastard, for whose paternity he contends with Cesar de Borgia ! We ask whether such an act can be reasonably attributed to pope Alexander VI, who is universally recognized as a most intelligent man ? Would he thus have openly courted the public reproof and contempt, which his enemies were so anxious to load upon him ? Let it be supposed for a moment that he was in reality the father of the Roman Infant ; would he not have taken sufficient precautions, to legitimate him by a bull stating that the names and qualifications of his parents were held to be sufficiently expressed, although not actually mentioned ; as he and his predecessors had often done with regard to other illegitimates [37] ?

That the former of these geminate records is a forgery can easily be inferred from the fact that the Pontiff, after minutely describing Cesar de Borgia, as the father of the Infant Giovanni, inserts the supposition or doubt, that Giovanni might be held " as the son of a temporal or ecclesiastic dignitary of the highest rank ", consequently, of himself [38]. Can a Supreme Pontiff thus reasonably forfeit his veracity, besides calling forth, without any reason, the most opprobrious suspicions against himself ? The forger, no doubt,

37. We could cite dozens of cases of this kind ; but, to give a few instance. On the 16th of January, 1493, he legitimates a certain Francis Trocho, who " defectum natalium pateris de soluto genitus et soluta " (Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Secret., Regest. 870, f° 108vo). On the 15th of October of the same year, he dispenses Leander de Coso " super defectu natalium quem pateris de Milite de nobili genere procreato soluto genitus et soluta " (Ibid. f° 870). On the next following 23d of December, he legitimates Peter da Vangour " de comite genitus et soluta " (Ibid., f° 43). About the time of Giovanni de Borgia's legitimation, pope Alexander VI dispenses of illegitimate birth, without naming his parents, Udalric Sunnder of Salzburg, on the 17th of June, 1499 (Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch. Oesterr., 1499, 17 Juni). On the 11th of Febr. 1502, Maurice Gogrene " super defectu natalium quem pateris de pbro. genitus et soluta " (Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. Regest. 872, f° 86.

felt the need of preparing the outrageous statement that he intended to make in the following writing, but did not notice that by such an insertion into the former record, he was making useless and superabundant the scandalous assertion in the latter.

The latter of these bulls is a monument of insanity ; for, to disgrace himself, as he is represented to do, the Pontiff had not the slightest reason, nor did he procure thereby any benefit to his nephew. When, by the first, he legitimated him as son of the duke of Valentinois, he secured to him all the privileges of the Borgia family and all the rights of inheritance from his father, Cesar de Borgia, from Cesar's brother and sister and from all his Borgia relatives. In claiming him as his own son, he stipulates exactly the same rights and advantages, and absolutely nothing else ; for he himself had neither titles nor possessions to bequeath to him.

The only reason, why the Infant is by the second bull named son of the Pope, is that, " in the course of time, the former bull might be considered as void through defect of intention ", in consequence of the false name of parentage, " and Giovanni be molested in his rights ". But, if this was the true motive, and if the first bull thus created a possible danger to the Infant, how could pope Alexander VI, that profound jurisconsult, be supposed to have ever dictated and published such a paper ? Why did he not tear up the faulty bull, still in his hands, rather than issue a second parchment, to officially correct the former ? Moreover, did he not foresee that the alleged falsehood and its denial, if both vouched for by a papal document, might, at some time in the future, be held as equally reliable or doubtful ? What was readily to be apprehended actually took place. Alvisi, after weighing both papers, asks [39] : " Whose son was, after all, Giovanni de

38. See Document 211, towards the end.

39. Cesare Borgia, p. 216.

Borgia ? If he was the Pontiff's, why did the Pontiff call him Cesar's ; and if he was Cesar's son, why did he claim him as his own " ? Alvisi concludes that more probably he was the child of Cesar than of the Pope ; although, he remarks, it is not easy to clear up the confusion. It seems that both forged bulls were considered by the Roman tribunal as being of no account or as nullifying each other ; and the Roman Infant, without a specified father and named already before " a certain Giovanni Borgia " [40] was, on the 3d of June, 1531, forever deprived of all rights upon the duchy of Camerino [41].

The foregoing remarks prove that the two bulls undoubtedly are not authentic, as Pastor declares [42], and the following further establish their forgery. In the first, Giovanni is said to be born from a non-married man, " de Cesare Borgia, Duce soluto " ; in the second, from a married man, " Duce coniugato ". There is not in the record's margin any correction here, while the other mistakes are rectified ; which shows that the statements are deliberated, and that in either one of the bulls there is a falsehood, which it would have been impossible to record at the time of pope Alexander VI [43].

But, in both bulls Giovanni is stated to be in his third year of age or thereabouts. When created duke of Camerino, on the 2d of September, 1502, he is said to be in his fifth year [44], and was thus a year older than he would have been according to the two bulls of his legitimation. Besides, on the 18th of August, 1502, Giustinian, the Venetian envoy, took him to be from five to six years old [45]. Should he have accomplished

40. Hergenroether, Leonis X. Regesta, Apr. 30, 1515.

41. Archiv. S. Consistorii, Acta Consist. ab anno 1498 ad 1644. T. XIV, f° 33.

42. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 449.

43. This striking contradiction is by itself sufficient to show that the two bulls, which are of the same hand and style, were forged by an ignorant and grossly negligent person.

44. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret., an. I ad XI. Lib. V. Regest. 871, f° 199.

45. Villari, Disp., vol. I, p. 94.

his third or fourth year in the fall of 1501, Cesar de Borgia, who married on the 10th of May, 1499, was at the time of Giovanni's birth, neither a married man, nor even a single man, in relation to matrimony, but an ordained deacon [46].

These qualifications of married or single were, however, absolutely superfluous and irrelevant, in case that the second bull were true and that the Roman Infant Giovanni were the Pontiff's child ; for, in authentic bulls of legitimation, we find such epithets applied to the illegitimate's parents only. It is evident that the forger was not used to the " Stylus curiae Romanae ", to the usual form of such documents.

Should the duke of Valentinois, unaware of the later paper, have got hold of the former, what must have been his indignation, on reading that the Pope foisted upon him the ignominious paternity of a child, to whom he, furthermore, unjustly gave the right of inheriting from the Duke, together with his lawful children! Nor would Cesar's wrath be allayed by the second bull, from which he was to learn that the Pontiff, although assuming the disgrace on himself, pretended that his own bastard should, as if he were the Duke's legitimate son, have a share in his inheritance ; and, like one of his children, be an heir to the possessions incidentally to be left by his brother, Jofre or by Lucretia, his sister ! The Pope does, indeed, by this second paper, abuse his apostolic power to authorize such flagrant injustice. Yet, there is no indication to be found of any disturbance in the friendly relations between the Sovereign Pontiff and his Captain general, in spite of those provocations ! The reason is, that they were first made long after the death of both.

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46. Codex juris Canonici, Can. 1114. The qualifications of married or unmarried etc. do not relate in bulls of legitimation generally, to the time of the legitimation, but to that of the birth; indicating the gravity of the offense, whose consequences are to be corrected ; as it is clearly expressed here : " De Duce soluto genitus... de Duce coniugato genitum " ; Cfr. Codex Juris Can., Can. 1116.

It may be further noticed that the late forger made of the Roman Infant the heir of all the Borgia children, whose memory was still fresh in Italy : of Cesar, of Jofre and of Lucretia ; but he seems to have heard no longer of their other brother, Giovanni, the duke of Gandia in distant Spain, or of his successor, who should also have been mentioned in the bulls ; for there was no reason why the Pope, in his cheap liberality, should have neglected to give to his bastard a right to inherit also the duchy of Gandia !

These remarks may suffice to show that the famous bulls not only were forged, but are unfit to pass for papal documents. The most reasonable conjecture seems to be that they were fabricated at the time that their copies were inserted in the Registers of pope Alexander VI, in the year 1531 ; by the legal advisers of the Infant Giovanni de Borgia, who considered the chances of gaining his lawsuit as more favorable, if he should appear before the Roman tribunal, as the son of a Sovereign of the Pontifical States, rather than of a military captain, who had died as a common soldier.

It was no easy task for them to make the wanted change of the Infant Giovanni's filiation from Cesar de Borgia into that from the Pontiff ; for he was universally known and proven by the best of historical evidences to be Cesar's son. Nor did they, beyond the mere assertion of the second bull, make any attempt to establish the possibility, at least, of his being a child of pope Alexander VI ; but they concluded their forgery with a clause, unheard of in any document of previous or of subsequent times, by which the Pope is represented as declaring and ordaining in virtue of his full power and apostolic authority, that, should the Infant, in any paper or writing from himself or from others, be designated as Cesar's son, this should not impair his right to receive donations or inherit from Cesar ; that, should he make use of Cesar's escutcheon, he should not be debarred from Cesar's, and incidentally from

the duke's brother's or sister's, inheritances ; that, should he name himself a son of Cesar, he should not lose any claim upon the privileges and profits to be derived from Cesar de Borgia or any of his relatives ! There is no provision made against the injury that might possibly proceed from the popular belief that the Infant Giovanni was Cesar's son.

It was the forger's prudence to date this bull so that it should have the priority of all those possibilities, which he well knew to be actual facts ; and to thus preclude the dangerous effects of the Infant's pretended misnomer, as son of Cesar de Borgia.

Let us suppose for a moment that the bull really was of pope Alexander VI ; and we shall see him, a few days after, discard that bull, by naming repeatedly the Infant Giovanni, not his own, but " the son of the noble lord Cesar Borgia de Francia " [47], and " our nephew " [48]. We shall see the Infant Giovanni himself, through his tutors, refuse the armories of pope Alexander VI, and assume those of Cesar de Borgia de Francia, thus declaring his filiation from the latter. The main actors in this case paid no attention whatever to the contrary assertion of the second bull—which, in fact, was not yet in existence.

It is no wonder, therefore, if Clément de Vebron [49], after noticing some of the anomalies and defects of these papers, concludes that the second was of necessity either non-existent or apocryphal, and Leonetti [50] offers some good reasons why they could not be accepted as genuine.

The modern enemies of pope Alexander VI, although they have an interest in admitting their authenticity, hesitate or refuse to believe their statements. We have seen the honest

47. On the 10th of September, 1501, and on the 12th of June, 1502.

48. On the 21st of June, 1502, and again a month later.

49. Les Borgia, p. 622.

50. Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 81, seq.

Alvisi [51] prefer to disbelieve the assertion of the second paper. Creighton suspects [52] that, in his desire to secure his little nephew, the Pontiff took upon himself the shame of a paternity that was not his. Gregorovius himself calls the Infant Giovanni a puzzling child [53] and de l'Epinois agrees that many will find the filiation of the duke of Camerino to be still enveloped in a certain obscurity [54].

Thus is there not of all historians a single one, with the possible exception of Pastor [55], who accords to these two papers the full credence which is generally given to apostolic bulls. They all either reject or contradict them or, at least, openly doubt their reliability. In spite of all historical data, bitter prejudice against the Pope makes Yriarte assert [56] that the Infant was a son of Julia Farnese, and allows Gregorovius [57] to suppose that Lucretia de Borgia may have been his mother. The latter, however, adds that " this opinion can have no other value than that of an hypothesis ".

Several puzzling records and many more learned discussions are adduced [58], to prove that the Infant Giovanni was either the legitimate son or the illegitimate son, or the brother of Lucretia de Borgia. That he was by courteous exaggeration, her brother, that is, a relative of hers, is clear enough ; but all other conclusions, injurious to the honor of pope Alexander VI, are mere suppositions and fertile objects of discussion and strife among prominent writers.

We had almost finished clearing pope Alexander VI of the imputation of being the father of a score of children, attributed

51. Cesare Borgia, p. 216.
52. A History of the Papacy, vol. IV, p. 19, ap. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 449, n. 5.
53. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 195: Dieses rätselhaftes Kind.
54. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 402.
55. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 449 and n. 5.
56. Les Borgia, t. II, p. 18.
57. Lucr. Borgia.
58. For instance : von Reumont in Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 329 ; Archiv. della Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. IV, p. 90, footn. ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 348.

to him by his personal enemies, shortly after his death, and by hostile historians of the following centuries, when we found an author to foist upon him still another, a posthumous son, named Roderic Borgia.

This author, whose name we have forgotten to notice, remarks himself that the learned world, before him, did not count this Roderic among the pretended children of Alexander VI ; nor did we discover a single historian, after him, to give to this Pontiff a son of that name. Nor is this any wonder, for the new accuser's only foundation is a pretended record of a bull slipped into the registers of pope Leo X [59].

It is noteworthy that the volume, in which the record is written, contains yet many blank pages, that always were inviting the pen of some interpolator.

In the record itself there are vacancies or words missing, unattended by the collationator.

It appears from this codex, as from all registers of that epoch, that " familiares " of the Pontiff received " gratis " all papal bulls. Here, however, Roderic Borgia, although a familiaris of Leo X, is marked as having to pay to the chancery the considerable sum of CXX ducats, for an abbey taxed at 50 florins only.

Against all custom of the curia, the forger adorns with a flourish the " A " of the name of the pretended writer, " f Acre " ; but the name of the official writer was not " Acre ", but " F. de Acre ", as appears from the folios 194vo and 253 of this same register.

The forger, instead of writing the full date of the bull, had left half a line vacant space. No doubt, he did not know what year was needed to make it correspond with the age assigned to Roderic in the body of the record. This space

59. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Leonis X. Bullar., an. II ad V. Lib. CIV. Regest. 1094, f° 107.

was afterwards filled by another hand with " quinto decio ", paraphed in the margin.

Such are the outward irregularities of this interpolation, and its contents sufficiently betray its forgery. It is, as the publisher himself states, an unusual conglomeration of various papal bulls ; and this cannot but excite at once the suspicion of any reader of Vatican records. The bull is addressed to Roderic Borgia, a Roman schoolboy and prelate of the papal household, " scolari Romano, familiari nostro "; even, " commensali " !

It is, first, an extraordinary form of an act of Roderic's legitimation. Pope Leo X might, like his predecessors, have said that the condition of his father, though passed by in silence, was understood to be sufficiently expressed ; but he took pleasure in proclaiming the scandal of Roderic's birth from a Roman Pontiff and a single woman, " de Romano Pontifice genitus et soluta " !

The boy asserted, on the date of the bull, which is the 15th of August, 1515, that he was in his twelfth year of age or thereabouts, " in duodecimo vel circa tue aetatis anno existis ". Hence we know that he was born after the 14th of August, 1503, when Alexander VI was sick in bed, three days before his death ; and before the 16th of August, 1505, under the reign of pope Julius II. The bull only says that a Roman Pontiff was Roderic's father. The chronology, therefore, casts the disgrace on the Pontiffs, Pius IV and Julius II, as much and more than on Alexander VI. Yet, the boy is simply called Borgia !

The forger had forgotten to mention, in the usual and proper place, two favors generally give by papal acts of legitimation of persons destined to the clergy ; but after allowing him to receive and retain all sorts of benefices, pope Leo X gives him permission to become a cleric and to receive Orders !

The whole form of this alleged document is strange in the extreme and contrary to the style of the Roman Curia.

After saying that Roderic Borgia was the illegitimate son of a Roman Pontiff, the bull commences another matter, which usually was the object of a special bull or brief. In consideration of the welcome services, which his " familiaris ", the schoolboy of twelve years, had rendered him, and was still anxious to render ! and of the expectation of seeing the child become a virtuous man, Leo X is well disposed towards him. He absolves him of all excommunication and suspension, which he could not have incurred, and favors him, as none other had ever been privileged before, namely, by making him, although a laic and not a cleric, " militiae clericali adscribi desideras ", the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Mary de Vietro in the diocese of Salerno !

It is true, the Pope requires that he receive the tonsure, but appoints him by virtue of the " present letters " to be from now on, the governor and administrator of the monastery in all matters spiritual as well as temporal !

Pope Leo X takes care to prove that the benefice is vacant, and interposes his authority to the effect that it should be vacant ; yet wills that this his own grant should be null and void in case that the abbey should have been given or canonically recommended to someone else. Such exception is, to say the least, very strange in the bull of a Pope, and contrary to the securities, or " Non obstantibus ", given at its closing.

The document, moreover, grants to Roderic the hability and authority to accept all kinds of benefices, " quaecumque, quotcumque et qualiacumque beneficia, " whether secular or regular, with or without the care of souls attached to them. All these concessions would form an abundant matter for a third special bull.

In the last paragraph the Pope returns again to the grant

of the Benedictine abbey, when he prescribes certain ordinances for its temporal administration !

Let it be added that the publisher of this interpolation manifests his ignorance of the true history of pope Alexander VI when, in spite of that Pontiff's favorable dispositions towards the house of the Medici, he asserts that Leo X, through his magnificence in regard to the boy Roderic, took a Christian revenge of his father, who had, he says, been for eleven years his most bitter persecutor [60].

There was, at this time, a boy in Italy, named Roderic, whose surname, Borgia, offered to the revengeful nobility of the Pontifical States and, in particular, to the forger, an occasion to revile the memory of pope Alexander VI, by calling him a sacrilegious son of that Pontiff.

We read in Gregorovius' Lucrezia Borgia [61] that Roderic was educated, not in Rome, but in Salerno, and was called a brother, that is, a relative or an acquaintance, of the duchess of Ferrara ; Gregorovius even intimates that he might be her son, differing in this particular from the forger, who designates him as born from an unmarried woman in the year 1503 or later. His death, which took place while he was with his mother in Ciciano, was announced from Posilippo by the Ferrarese envoy in Naples, who states that he belonged to the Borgia house, " de casa Borgia ", of which were still alive at the time of his birth, Cesar and, in the kingdom of Naples, Jofre de Borgia, besides many other Borgia families in Italy. As late as in 1535, he is mentioned from Rome,

60. Cardinal de' Medici himself received signal favors from pope Alexander VI, shortly after his election (Vol. II. Ch. XI. Art. VII.) Later he was granted many benefices, and in 1495, permission to rent them out for three years (Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Regest. 881, f°1). In 1497, he was given two pensions on resigned benefices and the right of " regressus " (Ibid. Regest. 813, f° 23vo and Regest. 860, f° 321). The following year he received a pension of 2000 ducats and still another (Ibid. Regest. 824, f° 137). In 1502, he obtained a considerable pension again (Ibid. Regest. 860, f° 320).

61. Bd. I, s. 344.

when it is said that a certain bishop, the brother, " fratello " of Don Roderic Borgia, had arrived. What a splended occasion for Gregorovius there was here to create one more son for pope Alexander VI ; but the historian had not the courage to extend his vicious inductions upon the doubtful meaning of an undefined term, and left Roderic and his brother, the bishop, in all their historical obscurity.

It may be finally observed that neither Ammirato [62], Guicciardini, Escolano [63], Mariana [64], Oldoinus [65], nor any historian of the hostile XVI century, admit either the Infant Giovanni or Roderic as children of pope Alexander VI.

We have now seen the moral character of pope Alexander VI assailed by all kinds of foul accusations ; some of them being so outrageous or incredible that even his bitterest enemies, like Ranke [66], speaking of " the false narratives of Guicciardini ", and Gregorovius himself [67], have been exasperated by them. The latter calls the infamous dialogue between Death and the sick Pope, a pasquinade of Roman satire [68].

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62. Ist. Fiorent., t. V, p. 33.
63. Hist. de Valencia, vol. II, col. 202.
64. Hist. d'Espagne, t. V, p. 123.
65. Add. ad Ciaconium.
66. Zur Kritik, s. 28.
67. Le Tombe dei Papi, p. 112, and Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 458, n. 1.
68. Ibid., s. 442, 458, n. 1.

CHAPTER XI.

Exemplary life of Alexander VI.

Sigismondo dei Conti [1] places in the mouth of the four cardinals delegated to king Charles VIII, the assurance that " the Pontiff was, in the year 1495, leading a life as holy, at least, as when he was unanimously elected to the supreme pontificate, by those also who had now become his calumniators ".

In a public sermon, on the 13th of April, 1498, Marianus of Gennazano did not fear to offend his prominent hearers, nor to insult the Pontiff, when he praised the Pope for finding his pleasure in the company of men, who were of laudable old age and of pure morals [2].

It is generally remarked that an immoral life is incompatible with the practice of mortification and of useful activity ; and if this rule may be applied to pope Alexander VI, his whole life must have been one of exemplary purity. We have seen, indeed, that in his youth he was a zealous student, who carried off the highest honors at the Academy of Valencia and at the University of Bologna. For almost forty years he was, as a cardinal busily engaged with the government of the province of the Marches, the direction of papal armies, and the weighty and delicate legations of Spain and of the kingdom of Naples; while his ordinary office of a vice-chancellor of the Church, besides his religious duties and the administration of his dioceses and abbeys, occupied his every hour of the day. His evenings, till late into the night, were often taken up by conferences and discussions of literary and scientific subjects,

1. Le Storie de' Suoi Tempi, t. II, p. 90.

2. Atti e Memor. della R. Deputationi... Moden. e Parmen., t. IV, p. 308, n. 2.

with the members of his court, at his Borgian Academy. It is difficult, indeed, to see where he found the time, to devote to study and to the writing of several learned works on Canon Law. He was evidently a most active and hard working prelate, who by his incessant labors, earned the good will and esteem of all the Popes, under whom he served. The works he performed, while a Supreme Pontiff, are simply astounding by their number and their importance. He acted either as a Pope, a temporal prince or as a leader of universal diplomacy; and his deeds, accomplished in any one of these capacities, would amply fill the average lifetime of any Supreme Pontiff.

From the report of his various achievements it is evident that his life was not one of ease and self-gratification. During a few days of the year, like those of the Roman carnival, he partook in the public rejoicings of his people, after his duties were done ; or he made an occasional visit to some of the provinces of his States ; but, with those few exceptions, all his time was devoted to hard labor. On the 20th of December, 1502, he complained to the Venetian envoy : " Lord ambassador ", he said, " We are kept busy with so many audiences, that at times we are tired of them ; and when we resolve to take a little rest, our occupations seem to multiply still faster " [3]. As he did, when a cardinal, so did he, when a Pope, continue to work late at night ; and, after a few hours of sleep, he was ready to recommence his toil in the early morning. The Roman envoy of Ferrara wrote, in October of the year 1501, to the duke Ercole, that the Pope would do better, for the sake of his health, if he would not leave the Palace before daybreak and not return after nighttime. This, indeed, is his bad habit, he adds, and he has been charitably admonished about it [4].

3. Villari, Dispacci, vol. I, p. 278.

4. Ercole to Don Francesco Roxas, Oct. 24, 1501 ; ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 200.

Pope Alexander VI practised mortification still more in eating and in drinking, than in refusing himself the necessary sleep. Pope Julius II needed but little for his personal support, although his table was not so poorly provided as that of Alexander VI, Pastor says. In the account books of the Roman Archives of State there are items for wine used by Julius II, but expenses for beverage were so insignificant under Alexander VI, that no mention of them is found anywhere [5]. Alexander, though given to sensuality, Gregorovius says, liked no sumptuous repasts. In the year 1495, Boccaccio, the Roman ambassador of Ferrara, wrote of him to his master : The Pope eats but of one dish, which must, however, be substantial. It is, therefore, a punishment to eat with him. Ascanio Sforza and others, especially the cardinal of Monreale, who used to be the table companions of His Holiness, and so also the cardinal of Valencia, withdraw from his companionship, whenever they can by any means do so ; because such penuriousness does not suit them [6]. He passed by his table like a shadow, touching it only as much as necessary to sustain his strength, in order to do the work which he was to perform. We should remark here that, as indolence and self-indulgence naturally lead to vice, so do hard labor and abstinence indicate a life of purity and virtue.

The glory of God and the greater good of the people confided to his care were the strong incentives of his constant exertions.

That he was a man of lively faith and great confidence in God, is sufficiently attested by the efforts, which he made, as a Pope, to propagate holy religion, to protect the pure doctrine of Christ against corruption or attacks from the publication of perverse or dangerous writings, and to save the Catholic

5. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s 531 and ibid., n. 5.

6. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 94, and Dispatch of Boccaccio, ibid., n. 1.

nations from the assaults of the cruel Mohammedans ; but also, as a private Christian, he set an example of reliance on divine worship and prayer, ascribing to the Almighty his enjoyment of good health, and to the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary his escape from the perils of his life.

Pope Alexander VI did not only, as a Pontiff, promote, in various ways, the practice of holy religion ; but was, himself, a model of devout Christians ; unostentatiously, but profoundly pious. He faithfully attended all solemn functions in St. Peter's basilica and in the papal chapel [7], and wanted his court to follow his example. A striking instance of this is related by Burchard. On the 26th of December, 1498, there had been a solemn Mass celebrated in honor of St. Stephen, in the presence of the Pope, who had noticed with displeasure the absence of some of the principal cardinals. The following day, he sent his master of ceremonies, to tell the cardinals Michiel, de Costa and Jerome Bassus della Rovere, that the absence of all the cardinal bishops from the chapel, on the occasion of a solemn Mass in the presence of the Pope and of the College of cardinals, was a disgrace to the Holy See, especially when the Illustrious Duke of Stettin was there. And if, he said, they should allege their fatigue from other functions, to tell them that the Pope was suffering from the defects of old age, and yet never abstained from such solemnities. I did as commanded, Burchard continues, and to-day the most Reverend cardinals made their appearance at the Mass, together with the Pope and the other members of the Sacred College [8].

Nothing could prevent the Pontiff from saying Holy Mass every day, or, at least, from assisting at it [9] ; and, whenever he celebrated solemnly, his action was majestic and his singing beautiful. On one occasion, he encouraged cardinal Palla-

7. Burchard, Diar., passim.
8. Diar., t. II, p. 424.
9. Burchard, Diar., passim.

vicini to continue his singing as he had sung the first oration; while, on another, he openly blamed a celebrant for his bad chanting [10].

As he knew the Rubrics well, he wanted them to be strictly observed, and all his attendants were afraid of making a mistake in his presence. Burchard tells us of an error committed, but he remarks that, since it escaped the Pope's observation, there was no disturbance [11].

The principal devotion of pope Alexander VI was to Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. After he had become a Pope, he retained his former habit of frequently visiting him in various churches of Rome. Burchard relates some of his promenades, made on horseback and consisting of successive short adorations before several tabernacles of the City. He had ordered the Sacred Host to be solemnly carried before him in procession, on the day of his coronation ; and we have noticed that, on his visits to the Roman provinces, in particular on his journey to Vicovari, for his important meeting with king Alfonso of Naples, he took the adorable Sacrament with him, at the head of his escort. The most extraordinary feature of his later private life was, it is related, the constant reverential keeping of the consecrated Host, in a precious golden pyx, in his apartment or on his person. He was actually walking with God [12].

We have seen that the Pontiff was specially devout to the Blessed Virgin, during the time of his cardinalate ; and his filial affection towards her increased considerably after his elevation to the papacy. Often did he, as a Pope, glorify the Mother of Christ ; but also, as a private Christian, he was most devoted to her. The infidel Yriarte himself says that his piety to the " Madonna " is attested on every page of his

10. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 126, 127.
11. Ibid.
12. Mich. VI, 8.

correspondence [13], in particular, we add, when writing to his niece, Lucretia de Borgia [14]. He frequently visited her sanctuaries in Rome [15]. To her protection he attributed the preservation of his life, when threatened by the fall of the palace chimney. He gave solemn thanks in her church of Santa Maria del Popolo, and offered on its altar a large sum of money to be spent in honor of her.

The piety of pope Alexander VI manifested itself on many other occasions by his liberalities towards the greater glory of God and of his Saints. The following are a few of his pious donations :

On the 4th of April, 1494, he ordered seventy-six gold ducats to be paid to one of his chamberlains, who had, in his name, spent that sum as an offering in honor of the Holy Cross, on the last Good Friday and, on the third day of Easter, at the church of the Minerva [16]. Every year, on Good Friday, he paid a sum of money : Thus, in 1495 thirty-five gold ducats and in 1502, fifty-two ducats, in honor of the Holy Cross [17].

On the 20th of July, 1494, he ordered the officials of his treasury, to procure two mantles of gold brocade : one for the statue of Our Lord, in the sanctuary of the church of St. John of Lateran ; and the other, to adorn the one of the Blessed Virgin in the basilica of St. Mary Major, for the feast of the Assumption [18] ; and on the 3d of September, he paid for them the sum of two hundred and forty gold ducats [19].

He was wont to give considerable alms on the occasion of the feasts of the Blessed Mother of God. Thus, to honor her, he offered forty ducats in the church of the Minerva, on the

13. Les Borgia, César Borgia, t. II, p. 49.
14. See Document 208.
15. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bull., an. I, t. V, Regest. 776, fo 37vo.
16. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati, 1492-1494, fo 105vo.
17. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 527, Apr. 24th, and vol. 532, Apr. 19th.
18. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1495-1497 : Armar. 29, no. 51, fo 104.
19. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1492-1500, fo 85vo.

8th [20] and on the 19th of April, 1502, he repaid fifty-five ducats, ordered to be distributed among the poor on the feast of her Annunciation [21] and, on the feast of her Purification, he used to contribute five thousand five hundred and eighty pounds of wax for candles, which amounted, in the year 1500, to six hundred and ninety-seven and half ducats [22].

The poor and the needy, if we may judge from the large sums, which he yearly spent for their relief and support, were his subjects of predilection. Twice during his reign there was scarcity of victuals in Rome and its neighborhood ; but, through diplomacy and lavish expenditures, he succeeded in replenishing, with cereals from Sicily and Spain, the public granaries, which he managed so carefully, that no pressing need was felt by the people. From the beginning of his reign the Pontiff insisted that justice should impartially be rendered to all placed under his authority, and once a week he admitted to his presence even the humblest of his people, who had any request or complaint to make. Prompt himself in paying his soldiers and workmen, he made it a duty of his highest officials to see to it that the laboring class should not be deprived of their wages. He encouraged learning, sciences and arts, and introduced into the Pontifical States foreign game birds and fruits, for the comfort and pleasure of his subjects. He undertook long and costly wars, to punish a dozen of titled malefactors and to liberate from their tyranny the inhabitants of his provinces. It is no wonder, therefore, if the Romans, although fickle and easily excited, never attempted to make any disturbance, during all the years of his administration.

The works which he accomplished prove Alexander VI to have been a great Pope and King, and a father to his people.

20. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1501-1503, f° 112.
21. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, at the date.
22. Rome, Archiv. di Stato, Mandati 1501-1503, f° 25.

CHAPTER XII.

Last years of Cesar de Borgia.

ARTICLE I. — CESAR DURING THE INTERREGNUM AFTER ALEXANDER VI.

We have, in the first volume of this work, interrupted the biographical sketch of Cesar de Borgia, to connect the most remarkable portion of his history with the account of the political actions of pope Alexander VI. Alexander's death has naturally put an end to the services which Cesar rendered to him and to the Roman Church, and, in fact, to the chivalrous activity of his own life. Considering that our object was to gather material for a History, not of Cesar de Borgia, but of his illustrious uncle, we might here conclude our labor; but we could hardly neglect to notice the last unfortunate years of the Pontiff's most important nephew, after we have, heretofore, given all possible information regarding his less interesting relatives; and we shall finish by succinctly reporting the tragical events that led him to an untimely death.

Cesar had carefully laid his plans for the retention of his authority and of his duchy of Romagna, in the case of the death of pope Alexander VI; but it had never come to his mind that he might, on that occasion, be himself overtaken by severe illness, and he was unprepared for such an occurrence. The Roman fever which, on the 10th of August, had seriously impaired the Pontiff's health, likewise attacked him on the following day. He was sick in bed in the Vatican, when, informed that the Pope was growing worse, he first realized that, should he die, his own position would be in the gravest danger, surrounded as he was by his powerful enemies, the Colonna and the revengeful Orsini.

Under these pressing circumstances, Cesar suddenly decided to try and conciliate the Colonna barons, whom he had never injured in their persons ; and already before the Pope's demise, he sent an envoy to them in the Neapolitan province of the Abruzzi, where they were fighting for the Spanish viceroy, Gonsalvo, after they had taken several places from the Orsini who were at the service of the French [1]. He made them the most enticing proposals, namely, to restore to them all their confiscated possessions [2].

Pope Alexander VI had hardly expired, when, the next day, Cesar sent to Prosper Colonna, Andrew della Valle, bishop of Crotone and another confidant, with the countersigns of all the Colonna fortresses, inviting him to come forward and take possession of them [3]. This offer was readily and gratefully accepted by Prosper and Fabricius Colonna, who reentered at once their former castles [4]. On the 23d of August, Prosper arrived in Rome, where he was welcomed by his partisans [5], and sided with the duke of Romagna, whose anxieties were thus greatly relieved.

Neither was Cesar nor his men molested by the Roman populace, although ill disposed towards the Spanish residents. It is true that, as soon as the Pontiff's death became known, the stores were closed and the banks were guarded ; but the City was unusually quiet on the 19th of August and the following days, notwithstanding the fact that the demise of a Pope used to be a signal for public disorder and violence [6].

The custom, however, of robbing dying or deceased prelates was not entirely forgotten on this occasion, as we may infer

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1. Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 133vo.
2. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 120 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 425.
3. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 245. n. ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 121.
4. Jovius, Vita Consalvi, Lib. II, p. 260.
5. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1503, Aug. 17 : Original paper.
6. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 125.

from the action of pope Pius III, who " inflicted the penalty of excommunication on all who would retain goods or monies taken from the apostolic palace, since the beginning of pope Alexander's sickness " [7]. Since that time, the palace had been unusually frequented by all kinds of people : by visitors, physicians, barbers and by extra attendants and servants of the Pope ; and all had found, in the troubled conditions of the Vatican, many occasions either to save from thieves, or to appropriate to themselves, property that belonged to the Pontiff or to the Apostolic See.

In his hatred, Giustinian asserts that the bull of Pius III evidently referred to Cesar de Borgia and his ministers [8], whom he accuses of having stolen three hundred thousand ducats, more or less [9], besides silverware and numberless other precious articles ; part of which he adds, already on the 19th of August, he had sent to the fortress of Cività Castellana. But we should remark that the excessively large sum of money evidently weakens the incrimination and that, moreover, Cesar did not know, at this time, whether he would ever again see Cività Castellana, the entrance into whose castle was actually denied him afterwards [10].

Burchard relates from hearsay, on page 239 of the third volume of his Diary—which differs from its other manuscript copies and is not improbably a later interpolation—that Michelottus, by order of Cesar, drew his poniard and threatened to kill cardinal Casanova and to throw him through the window, unless he should give him the key to the papal treasures; he also says that the ruffian took all the silverware and two chests containing about a hundred thousand ducats—a larger sum than pope Alexander VI ever possessed at any one time. On a following page Burchard states that Michel-

7. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, p. 213.
8. Id. ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 125.
10. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 425.

ottus had overlooked many precious paraphernalia, rings and stones, worth about twenty-five thousand ducats. He moreover reports that in the morning after the Pontiff's death, his servants came and took away whatever was left in his wardrobes, leaving nothing but the chairs. Sansovino relates [11] how Cesar carried away all the best that he could find : money and furnishings ; and Raphael Maffei asserts [12] that he took possession of the whole Vatican treasury.

The time of hatred and revenge against the Borgias had now commenced, and we cannot expect any contemporary author, to take Cesar's defence from the charge of robbery thus brought against him. Yet, we cannot refrain from surmising that, instead of being unjust, he was rather provident and beneficial towards the Holy See, when he took charge of the money and precious articles left behind by his dying uncle, in order to remove them from the reach of the ghouls, whom he had so often seen at the bedside of deceased prelates. We cannot help supposing that he returned it all to Alexander's successor, when we see that soon after the imputed theft of enormous sums, he was in want of money. He had no longer to pay his soldiers, who nearly all disbanded a few days later [13] ; and there is no record of any considerable sum spent by him since ; yet, on the 24th of the following March, he had not the fifteen thousand ducats claimed by pope Julius II. for his liberation, and Cesar was obliged to beg the Spanish cardinals to go his surety for the paltry sum [14]. About the same time the Pope knew that " Cesar had neither money nor credit ", and " many thought his treasury to be so exhausted that, without the help of others, he could do little " [15].

11. Casa Orsina, p. 133vo.
12. Anthropologia or Libri Commentariorum Urbanorum.
13. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 215.
14. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 31.
15. Ibid., pp. 74, 78.

Where were the hundred thousand or the three hundred thousand ducats, that he is said to have stolen ?

Moreover, since the wholesale robbery is represented as being publicly known, cardinal Casanova must certainly have complained before the Sacred College of the insult offered him, on the occasion. If Cesar de Borgia was guilty, we might expect, not the bull of pope Pius III against the thieves in general, but his censure against Cesar in particular ; and, already during the interregnum, the reproof if not the prosecution, from the College of cardinals. But the sequel of facts will show that, on the contrary, the duke of Valentinois was not only treated with civility and consideration by both that Pope and the Sacred College, but was actually taken under their protection, and was allowed by them to retain his honorable offices ; although he was, at first, a cause of suspicion and anxiety to them.

While convalescent, Cesar occupied the Vatican palace, and his powerful army of twelve thousand horse and foot [16] filled the Transtevere, the whole Borgo and the adjoining prairies [17]. The cardinals feared that to gather, as was the custom at the Vatican, to conduct their preliminary deliberations and to proceed to the election of a new Pope, was to place themselves under the power of Cesar and of his troops ; and they soon resolved to assemble on the south side of the Tiber, in the vestry of the Dominican church of the Minerva.

Their fear was all the more justified, if it is true that the duke of Valentinois was determined to have a Spaniard elect-

16. Aegidius Viterbiensis, Historia XX Saeculorum ms. ap. Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Cod. C. 8, 19, f° 330 ; Raphael Maffei, Libri Commentariorum Urbanorum ; Panvinius, Vita Pii III, p. 342 ; Moroni, Dizionario, Art. Borgia, p 47 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 133vo.

17. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 311 ; Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1503, Aug. 17.

ed [18]. Aegidius of Viterbo [19], Raph. Maffei [20], Panvinius [21] and Sansovino [22] attribute this same intention to Cesar de Borgia. The modern great historian, Balan, [23] and the Civiltà Cattolica [24] admit the assertion of the ancient authors. Giustinian allows himself to impeach the intention of the Spanish cardinals and to represent them as plotters and deceivers, when he asserts [25] that they all were leagued together to create a Spanish pope, and spoke in the most flattering manner to the Sacred College, in order to draw them to the Vatican ; their intention being to create some great disturbance there.

We agree that the authority of all those writers is very weighty ; but, in matters of mere thoughts and designs of the accused, we feel inclined to believe quite a number of Most Eminent prelates, rather than their accuser, the hostile envoy of Venice, when he relates an interview, which he had with them on the 20th of August, as follows [26]. Giustinian had been sent to the Vatican, to request the removal of Cesar and of his troops, for the greater freedom of the coming election. " Arrived at the palace ", he says, " before being introduced to the Duke, I stood, for a while, with a lot of those cardinals, whom he keeps as his chaplains ; and all of them, in the fairest of speeches, profess to desire a good Pope and the election to be made according to the will of God. They said, they were sorry that the Sacred College suspected them and the Duke, who was their good son, and that they well knew the evil that would follow, if they were to do violence to the College of Cardinals ". In fact, there is no record of any subsequent act of ill will on their part. At the next election,

18. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 137.
19. Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Cod. C. 8, 19 Historia XX Saeculorum, f° 330.
20. Libri Comment. Urban.
21. Vita Pii III, p. 342.
22. Casa Orsina, p. 133vo.
23. Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 425.
24. Ser. 9, vol. VIII, p. 288.
25. Dispacci, vol. II, p. 130.
26. Dispacci, vol. II, p. 132.

after having lawfully manifested their preference, they all cast their votes for the cardinal of Siena, who took the name of Pius III [27].

When Giustinian was admitted to the duke, he found him in bed somewhat feeble, but not very ill. He reasoned with him, without arriving at any conclusion ; and, when he was leaving, Cesar said that " he did not interfere in any of those matters, but had left them all to the judgment of the cardinals ". His subsequent conduct corresponded to his assertion.

No sooner had pope Alexander VI breathed his last, than Cesar was desirous to vacate the Vatican, in favor of the Sacred College. But, to secure himself from his enemies, the Roman barons, by whom he was surrounded, he, on the 19th of August, applied for admission into the castle of Sant' Angelo. The castellan, however, Francis Roccamura, bishop of Nicastro, although a Spaniard also, answered him that he alone would be welcome, but not together with his troops, because he had himself sworn to give up the fortress to Alexander's legitimate successor only, and he said that, for the present, it was held at the command of the College of cardinals. Cesar was thus compelled to remain under the protection of his army, at the Apostolic palace [28].

On the following day, the 20th, Cesar committed a serious blunder, by allowing his captain, Michelottus Coreglia and a number of his troops to cross the Tiber and to march to the square of the Dominican church della Minerva, where the cardinals were in session. The soldiers did no harm nor did they frighten the Sacred College. Cardinal Vera came out to

27. Burchard, Diar., t. III, pp. 273, 276.

28. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 122. From this we see the error of Raphael Maffei writing (Libri Commentariorum Urbanorum) that Cesar provided the castle " operibus muniit ", to force the Sacred College to gather in it, as usual, and to elect a successor according to the Duke's wishes.

speak to them, and made them return to the Borgo. On their way back, a squad of them put fire to the Orsini castle of Montegiordano, of which a portion was burned down [29]. This excursion caused much commotion in the City. Shops were closed, streets were obstructed with beams and chains and many Romans went to the assembled cardinals, to offer them protection. But the Sacred College reassured the excited people, and ordered two thousand infantry, under the captaincy of Carlo Thaneo, lord of Harta, henceforth to guard the City [30].

It is evident that the cardinals in the Minerva had been deeply affected by Michelottus' invasion and wished greater security for their deliberations ; for they sent, that same day, four of their number : the cardinals Carvajal, Vera, de' Medici and Caesarini to try and obtain possession of Sant' Angelo and they also sent the Venetian ambassador to request Cesar's departure from the Vatican [31]. Neither mission was, however, fully satisfactory : the Right Reverend castellan said he would keep the castle till he should redeem his oath, though he swore fidelity to the Sacred College, and Cesar de Borgia gave as reasons his illness and the danger from his enemies.

On the 21st of August, the Most Reverend lords insisted upon having a clear understanding with the duke of Valentinois. Cesar showed himself very humble towards them. He excused himself for the happenings of the previous day, saying that they had been intended only as a demonstration of his power [32]. He was ready to do the bidding of the Sacred College and to take the oath of fidelity to them ; and

29. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 244 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 129 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 133vo.

30. Burchard, Villari, Raphael Maffei, Commentar. and Sansovino, ibid. ; Panvinius, Vita Pii III, p. 342, says, four thousand.

31. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 244 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 132, 134.

32. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 245 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. 127.

it was finally decided to draw up an instrument to that effect and to have it sworn to by Agapitus of Amelia, the duke's secretary [33] ; while, on the other hand, the cardinals should retain him as Captain general and Standard bearer of the papal army, and secure his person, his men and possessions [34].

It was also announced, on this day, that the Spanish palatine cardinals were willing to participate in the election, wherever it would be held [35]. Cesar, moreover, asserted that the two hundred lances, who had just arrived before, for the defence of the duke, had come in spite of his orders and he promised to send them off at once. The effect of all these friendly particulars was, that the former strain was considerably relieved and conditions quieted generally [36]. Cesar's oath of fidelity to the Sacred College was admitted and himself confirmed in office, the following day [37].

Greater disturbance, however, than before and consequent anxiety was caused by an event which took place on the 23d of the same month of August. While Prospero Colonna was in Rome with a small number of soldiers, and Cesar de Borgia was keeping his army within the Leonine city, Ludovico, son of the count of Pitigliano, and Fabio Orsini, at the head of two hundred horse and about a thousand foot, Giustinian says [38], made a sudden irruption into the City, and, after having killed several persons in the suburbs, plundered and put on fire about a hundred shops and dwellings of Spanish residents, many of whom were barbarously slain [39]. Sansovino relates that the Orsini, for fear of being attacked by Cesar, whose army outnumbered their own, retired late that

33. Burchard, ibid.
34. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 139.
35. Ibid., p. 140.
36. Villari, ibid., p. 141.
37. Villari, ibid., p. 139 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 246 ; Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1503, Aug. 17 : Original paper.
38. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p 147.
39. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 248 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p 147 ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 134 ; Vienna, Filiale, ubi supra.

same evening ; but better authorities state that they remained till the following night.

On the next morning, the Sacred College held a protracted session treating only of the peace of the City, and resolved to order out of Rome both the Orsini, who obeyed late in the afternoon, and Prospero Colonna, who remained, but with a few attendants only [40]. They did not molest the duke of Valentinois, who had now become their trusted official.

When, on the 25th, the ambassadors of Germany and Spain, of France and Venice had been called to assist the cardinals in quieting the City, the one of Venice, Giustinian, pretended that the principal means to secure peace was to remove also from Rome the duke of Valentinois and his troops ; and he succeeded in obtaining the assent of the Most Reverend lords. Consequently the four envoys were immediately sent to the Vatican, in order to persuade the duke.

Cesar commenced his answer, by stating to them " that, since the demise of the former Pontiff, no disturbance whatever had been, nor would be caused by him, nor anything in opposition to ecclesiastical liberty or to the Sacred College, of whom he was the respectful and most obedient son. He added many words, with which, if his heart should correspond to them anyone might be satisfied ", the hostile Giustinian remarks. " In regard to the first request, namely of his departure from the City, he said that one who desires it, desires his death ; because, being in the condition in which he is, in consequence of his illness, he could not only not leave Rome, but not even his bed, without the gravest danger to his life ; as they might learn from the physicians who were visiting him. To the other petition, with respect to the leaving of his troops, he made the same reply : that it was to wish

40. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 249 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 150.

his death, since he had so many and so powerful enemies. He promised, however, to leave Rome with all his soldiers, at the first command of the Sacred College, just as soon as he would be in a condition that would allow him to do so ".

" It seems that all three of the other ambassadors approved of his answer ", Giustinian adds ; yet, the Venetian diplomat " then proposed to Cesar to send his troops a few miles away from Rome, and personally to retire into the fortress of Sant' Angelo, under the protection of the College of Cardinals, until he should be healed ". The duke accepted the proposal, provided the physicians would declare him able to be moved to the castle, of which he should have the command and a garrison of his own ; or, at least, the castellan should swear not to deliver him to his enemies. Giustinian foresaw that such conditions would not be acceptable to the cardinals; and, in fact, his crafty plans failed of success [41].

Squads of soldiers were constantly reentering Rome ; and the cardinals, fearing that Cesar's presence was the cause, requested the ambassadors again; on the 28th, to go and persuade him of the necessity of his departure. Only the envoys of Spain and of Germany volunteered their services, and they obtained good words from the duke, but no final decision [42]. Cesar afterwards expressed the wish of seeing the cardinal San Severino, who, on the evening of the 29th, had a long interview with him [43].

Burchard relates [44] how, on the 30th, the Sacred College had a conference stipulating the conditions of the duke's with-

41. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, pp. 155, 156 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 251. The foregoing relation of public events and negotiations between the college of cardinals and Cesar de Borgia is further confirmed by the dispatch of Lucas de Rinaldis, of the 27th of August, 1503, to the emperor elect Maximilian : Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Maximiliana, 1503, August.

42. Burchard, ibid., p. 252-253; Villari, ibid., pp. 164, 166.

43. Villari, ibid., pp. 166, 167.

44. Diar., III, 253.

drawal, which having been agreed upon, the following day, were as follows :

The cardinals promised to give Cesar free passage through all lands of the Roman Church.

They allowed him to transport his artillery and baggage through the streets of the City.

They promised that the Roman people would do no harm to the duke, his men or to the palatine Spanish cardinals ; and that they would provide him with victuals at fair prices. It was, in fact, proclaimed in Rome the following day, that all offenders would be punished with death and the loss of their possessions.

The cardinals further bound themselves to recommend to Venice, not to disturb him in his duchy of Romagna.

Giustinian adds another promise, that, namely, the Sacred College would write to each community of the duchy of Romagna and order them to remain faithful to the duke, as being the one who was united with the Church.

On his part, the duke promised not to injure the Romans, nor their goods, nor any inhabitant of the papal States, and bound himself to recede from Rome within three days [45].

Tivoli had been designated as the place to which Cesar was to retire ; but it was soon learned that, on the 1st, he had made an agreement with the French, by which king Louis XII took under his protection the person of the duke of Valentinois and of Romagna, his relatives and his possessions ; and promised to help him retain or regain all his territories. The duke, on his part, agreed to join all his troops with those of the French king, whom he should assist against all parties, with the sole exception of the Pope and

45. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, pp. 254, 255 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 168 ; Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats-archivs, Maximiliana, 1503, Sept. 2 : Original paper ; Sansovino, Casa Orsina, p. 134.

the Apostolic See [46]. In consequence of this secret agreement, Cesar left Rome on the 2d of September, a very sick man, carried in a stretcher ; and with him went all his forces : horse, foot and artillery ; but, instead of going to Tivoli, he went to Nepi, in whose neighborhood the French army was camping [47].

As the foreign soldiers were now withdrawing from the City, the Sacred College resolved, on the 4th day of September, to commence the nine days of funeral ceremonies for the late pope Alexander VI in St. Peter's basilica, and they also prepared the main chapel of the Vatican palace for the election of a new Pontiff [48].

On the 16th of September the cardinals entered in conclave, and, on the 22d, after the scrutiny of the previous day, in which the votes had been very much scattered, a man universally esteemed for his great virtues, the cardinal of Siena, Franciscus Piccolomini, received the unanimous vote of his colleagues, was proclaimed Pope, and took the name of Pius III [49].

In the meantime Cesar de Borgia had been quietly resting and recuperating his health in Nepi and in the adjoining Città Castellana [50].

ARTICLE II. — CESAR DE BORGIA UNDER PIUS III.

One of the first cares of the newly elected Pontiff was to provide the duke of Valentinois and his men with the

46. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 173 and the text of the treaty, p. 462, seqq.

47. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 256 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. 171 ; Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 304 ; Civiltà Cattolica, ser. 3, t. VIII, p. 288.

48. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 275.

49. Burchard, ibid., pp. 273, 276.

50. Amiani, Memorie di Fano, p. 88 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 187.

necessaries of life, as long as they should remain in Nepi and Città Castellana [51]. Towards the last of September he recalled him to Rome ; and the duke returned indeed, with part of his troops, on the 2d of October, 1503. He took lodgings in the palace of the cardinal of Ferrara on St. Peter's square, where he was welcomed, in the name of pope Pius III. by a deputation of three bishops and three archbishops. He was reappointed in his office of Captain General and Standard bearer of the Roman Church ; and his soldiers were named to form the palace guard [52].

The Pope also wrote several briefs in favor of Cesar, to the people of Romagna and to other places. By the one directed to the Perugians, he complained of the league between Gianpaolo Baglione, Fabio Orsini, Ludovico degli Atti and Bartholomew d'Alviano and other accomplices " against our beloved son, the noble lord Cesar Borgia de Francia, duke of Romagna and Valentinois and Standard bearer of the Holy Roman Church, who, under our obedience and that of the Apostolic See, continues to stand ready to do our bidding ". He declares that, if the people of Perugia do not desist from following them, he shall unforgivingly proceed against them with deserved penalties; he enjoins upon them to hold aloof from all such conventicles and to do nothing against the duke, if they do not want to incur the said penalties and the papal indignation [53].

On the 25th of September, pope Pius III also rebuked the Venetians, for their incursion into the duchy of Romagna, which belonged to the Apostolic See and had been given " by our predecessor, with the advice of our venerable brethren of the Sacred College, as a Vicariate, to our beloved son etc. Cesar Borgia de Francia " [54].

51. See Document 213.
52. Burchard, Diarium, t III, p. 281 ; Villari, vol. II, pp. 218, 224.
53. Villari, Disp., vol. II, p. 208, n. See Document 114.
54. See Document 215.

The good will and favors of the Pontiff towards the duke of Valentinois incited still more the hatred of the Orsini. Another complot against Cesar had been contrived, on the 16th of September, by the duke of Urbino, the prefect of Rome, the lords of Rimini, of Pesaro and Camerino, the Vitelli [55] and Bartholomew d'Alviano who among them, was like a rabid dog, " un cane arrabiato ", against him, Giustinian says [56]. Giustinian himself, Annibal Bentivoglio and the cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Raphael Riario went to molest the Pope, to obtain Cesar's ruin ; but in spite of all their endeavors, the Pontiff continued to appreciate and protect him [57].

On the 15th of October, Cesar had, with some of his troops, passed one of the gates of Rome, to flee to some other place more secure, Giustinian asserts. Some of his men fell away from him, and the Orsini, hearing to the defection, went out to meet him, drove him back and followed him to St. Peter's square, where they attacked and dispersed the ducal or rather the papal guard. Cesar took refuge in the Vatican palace, and the Pontiff saved his life by sending him through the secret gallery to the fortress of Sant' Angelo, while his enemies robbed all his personal possessions [58].

The duke of Valentinois was hardly in this place of security when he lost his powerful protector. Pope Pius III died, after a reign of twenty-five days, on the 17th of October, 1503. His pontificate was greatly disturbed by the Orsini barons who, after making peace with the Colonna, forcibly took possession of Rome and precipitated the death of their Sovereign, by fighting the representative of his temporal power at the very door of his sickroom. Should pope Alexan-

55. Leonii, Bartolomeo d'Alviano, p. 168.
56. Villari, Disp., II, 244.
57. Villari, ibid., pp. 229, 237, 239, etc.
58. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 285 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 244, 249, 250 ; Raphael Maffei, Commentariorum Urbanorum Libri Octo et triginta ; alii.

der VI have lived another year, the Apostolic See would have for centuries, been spared such a contumely [59].

The Orsini had placed their guards all around the castle of Sant' Angelo, to intercept the flight which they supposed Cesar would attempt to make. After the death of pope Pius III, they claimed from the Sacred College that he should be detained in the fortress till the election of the next Pontiff, to be sentenced afterwards by the supreme tribunal ; but at the first congregation of the cardinals, on the 20th of October, it was resolved that the duke of Valentinois should remain free under the castellan's protection or be at liberty to go wherever he might choose [60]. It was decided, moreover, that the Orsini should retire from the Borgo and the City [61] ; and the barons reluctantly obeyed, well knowing that it would " be hard to kick against the goad ", Giustinian remarks [62].

Quiet being thus restored, the funeral of the deceased Pope was celebrated, nine consecutive days, and the Vatican palace prepared for the Conclave.

ARTICLE III. — CESAR UNDER POPE JULIUS II.

The " pratiche " of electioneering seem to have been lively at that time [63]. " The cardinal of St. Peter's bands, Giuliano della Rovere, had, on the 29th of October, a meeting in the apostolic palace with the duke of Valentinois and the Spanish cardinals, at which certain articles were agreed upon, whereby, among other things, the cardinal of St. Peter's bands obliged himself, after he should be Pope, to name the duke Standard bearer and Captain general of the Church, to favor him and to retain him in his estates. Reciprocally the duke

59. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 285 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 253.
60. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 257.
61. Burchard, ubi supra, p. 287.
62. Villari, ubi supra, p. 259.
63. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 255.

promised to be in his favor ; and all the Spanish cardinals bound themselves to vote for the cardinal of St. Peter's bands and to make him obtain the papacy ". Thus Burchard writes [64] ; and that this accord was not without effect appears from Çurita saying [65] : " The duke of Valentinois was the principal means of the election of the cardinal of St. Peters ; for he procured the choice of that cardinal for the supreme pontificate, through the votes of the cardinals, who had been created by pope Alexander VI and who followed the plans laid down by the duke ".

On the last day of October, the cardinals entered the Conclave. But it was already well known that at least two thirds of their number were pledged to secure the elevation of Giuliano della Rovere to the chair of St. Peter ; and, to gain the good will of the future Pope, the doubtful electors themselves favored him. The next day, November the 1st, Giuliano received all the votes, with the exception only of his own and of that of the cardinal d'Amboise of Rouen [66], and he assumed the name of Julius II.

The new Pope bestowed signal favors upon the duke of Valentinois, on the day immediately following his election. He gave orders that Cesar should leave the fortress of Sant' Angelo, to come and live at the pontifical palace ; where he assigned nine rooms to his use and to that of one of his captains [67].

On the same day he issued several briefs, to praise the duke and protect his interests in the duchy of Romagna. Thus he wrote to Faenza a letter, wherein he still designated him as duke of Romagna and Standard bearer of the Church, and

64. Diarium, t. III, p. 232 ; Cfr. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Politicorum Varia, vol. VIII, f° 47.

65. Historia del Rey don Hernando, Lib. V, Cap. 55, f° 310vo.

66. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, pp. 294, 299 ; Cfr. auctores passim.

67. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p 304 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 281.

commended him as most obedient to himself and useful in the future. He ordered the community to be submissive and respectful to their duke, and to combat and repel all who should be audacious enough to attack his territories [68]. He likewise wrote to the Farnese, enjoining on them fealty to the Church and obedience to the duke [69]. In his brief to the Florentines he highly praises the excellent virtues and the glorious achievements of Cesar de Borgia [70].

When Cesar had arrived at the palace, pope Julius II gave him written orders to bring in order the troops that he had still in Rome, " because ", he said, " our intentions do not differ from those which we had before we were in this chair " [71]. Cesar also remained in correspondence with the captains and condottieri, whom he had left in the fortresses and cities that had continued their allegiance to him in Romagna.

On the 18th of November, the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, was puzzled and distressed at the conduct of the Pope towards the duke of Valentinois ; for he wrote to his government that, although the Pontiff speaks as if he wanted Cesar's ruin, yet, not satisfied with writing briefs in his favor, he assigns papal commissaries to conduct and guide the ducal troops all over the territories of the Church, and places galleys at his disposition to sail wherever he pleases, and recommends him no less than if he were his son [72].

One such excursion was arranged by the Pope together with four cardinals and Cesar himself, on the 14th of November. On the 19th, the duke accompanied by Bartholomew della Rovere, a nephew of the Pope, and a few others,

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68. See Document 216.
69. Amiano, Memorie di Fano, p. 89.
70. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 356.
71. Villari, ubi supra, p. 281.
72. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 301.

departed by boat for Ostia, being followed by a hundred and fifty or a hundred and sixty of his cavalry [73].

It was significant, however, that pope Julius II did not renew the commission of the duke of Valentinois as Captain general of the papal army. This office was in fact exercised by the duke of Urbino, who even captured for the Pontiff Cesar's city of Cesena [74].

The few days that the duke of Valentinois and of Romagna passed in Ostia were the last he spent in the Pontifical States as a great prince, nay, as a free man. Pope Julius II, from being his benefactor, had become his despoiler and jailer ! Giustinian and most historians attribute this tragical change to the Pontiff's inveterate hostilities to the Borgias ; but it seems that the Venetian invasion into Romagna exerted a decisive influence upon his policy in regard to Cesar.

On the 22d of November, the Pope begged Venice not to encroach any further on the territories of Romagna. The ambassador Giustinian answered that his Republic had no intention of taking them away from the Church, but rather from her enemies ; that, therefore, his government would be pleased to see them return to the Pontiff ; but, as regards those held by papal Vicars, who govern them badly and without any benefit to the Church, he said that they might remain in the hands of the Republic better than in the power of others [75]. This fallacious argument had been even more pointedly set forth, when the Pope supposed Venice to have made her incursions to punish the duke for his demerits, and the ambassador answered that he had guessed correctly : that all moves of the Republic had been made with the intention

73. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 306-307 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 303.

74. Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 427.

75. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 306.

of delivering those territories from the duke's tyranny [76]. Already before had the Pontiff's mind been sufficiently influenced by the false protestations of Venice, so as to make him declare that he did not complain on account of the duke, who, he said, had no further interest in Romagna ; but for the honor of the Pope himself, who could not conscientiously allow those territories to be torn away from the Church [77]. Finally, when, on the 22d of November, 1503, the news arrived in Rome that the Venetian troops had captured also the city of Faenza, pope Julius II decided to deprive Venice of all its subterfuges, by actually taking under his immediate authority all the cities and fortresses still in the hands of the duke [78].

On the same 22d, the Pope sent two cardinals, Soderini and Remolino, to Ostia, in order to induce the duke towards saving Romagna from the Venetians, by freely resigning to the Church the fortresses of the duchy, that were still held in his name [79].

The two cardinals returned on the 24th and reported to the Pontiff the result of their mission. Cesar was not unwilling to surrender his castles and to give their countersigns, provided, however, the Pope and the Sacred College should promise to restore them to him after the difficulties with the Venetians would be settled. This answer did not satisfy the Pontiff at all, and he gave orders to the captain of the galley, which he had placed at Cesar's disposal, not to let it leave the port of Ostia [80].

To justify his action, especially before the Spanish cardinals, pope Julius II called a consistory on the 28th of Novem-

76. Villari, ibid., pp. 289, 290.
77. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 285.
78. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 307 ; Jovius, Vita Consalvi, Lib. III, p. 273.
79. Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 316 ; Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 307 ; Villari, Disp., p. 305.
80. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 308.

ber ; where he exposed the case, saying that the Venetians had invaded Romagna, not to offend the Church, but simply to injure the duke of Valentinois, their special enemy. His Holiness was resolved to remove the cause of their hostilities, and thus stop their farther advance. He had, therefore, made known to the duke that he must resign the cities still under his power and give him the countersigns of their fortresses. He said that, after much objection, Cesar had agreed to do so ; but, because it might happen, that the countersigns, which he was to give, would not be the true ones, it would be well to oblige him to come to Rome, where he should be detained in a secure place, till the countersigns should be found to be true ; and, should they prove to be correct and efficacious towards obtaining what was wanted, then the duke should be allowed to go wherever he pleased. It seems, Giustinian says, that everyone was satisfied with the Pontiff's proposition [81].

The following day, pope Julius II sent his palace guard under their captain, to bring back in a galley the duke of Valentinois, who arrived in the City in the evening of the last day of November ; and, guarded, was lodged in the Vatican palace, in the room of cardinal Remolino [82].

To regain dear liberty, Cesar yielded to the Pope's demand, and wrote down the countersigns of the fortresses of Cesena, Bertinoro and Faenza castles, that were still holding out for him. On the 4th of December, 1503, the Pontiff commissioned his chamberlain, Charles Mancavolier and Pedro d'Oviedo, an official of Cesar de Borgia, bearers of the intersigns, to go and receive the coveted castles ; and further directed them to make their consignment to the papal governor of Romagna, John de Sacchis, archbishop of Ragusa [83].

81. Villari, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, pp. 315, 316.

82. Burchard, Diarium, t. II, p. 310 ; Villari, Dispacci, ubi supra, p. 318 ; Balan, Storia d'Italia, t. V, p. 427.

83. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Armar. 39, n. 22, fo 1ro and vo.

Jovius pretends, and others after him, that the letters written by Cesar de Borgia were useless and deceptive [84]. To prove this assertion to be one of Jovius's numerous untruths, we may refer to the fact, that the duke, hoping to see the castles surrender soon and himself be a free man again, requested cardinal d'Amboise to postpone a few days his intended return to France, " because he would like to go with him " [85]. He could not, indeed, have expressed such a wish, if he had not given the true countersigns and sincerely directed his castellans to give up the fortresses. Neither would he have been anxious, as he was, to receive the official papers of his liberty and safe-conduct, which the Pope granted him on the 7th of December [86] ; for it was well understood, that he would be set at liberty, only after the actual surrender of the places.

The two envoys, carrying papal briefs to the people of Cesena [87] and the countersigns to the castellans of Romagna, did not meet with the success equally desired by the Pontiff and by the duke. Arrived before the castle of Cesena, Pedro d'Oviedo, recognized by the castellan, Diego Quignonez, was admitted within the gate, and his letters were read by Quignonez, who became indignant at once and ordered him to be hanged from the crenelated wall, on the 15th of December, 1503. Moncavolier, d'Oviedo's companion, was charged to take to Rome this declaration of the castellans : " That they had received the fortresses, when the duke was in prosperity; that now they knew him to be a molested prisoner, and could not do what he would not do himself, if he were a free man ; and that they were not willing to be wicked servants and deny their fidelity to him ; should they see him at liberty and should he give them orders, they would promptly obey him ; but as long as the duke would be detained, they were not to

84. Vita Consalvi Lib. III, p. 373.
85. Villari, ibid., p. 332.
86. See Document 217.
87. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 587.

give the castles into the hands of his enemies, but rather to others " [88].

Moncavolier reentered Rome on the 19th ; and the Pope, after hearing his report, was so exasperated that, but for the intercession of the Spanish cardinals, Cesar would have been cast into a dungeon of Sant' Angelo, and was actually imprisoned in the upper story of the Torre Borgia, built by pope Alexander VI [89].

The effect of this severe measure was to confirm the castellans in their resolution not to surrender their fortresses, but at the command of the duke when he should be free [90].

Already, on the 17th of December, there had been question of transferring Cesar de Borgia from his Vatican prison; and of placing him under custody in the castle of Civitavecchia, until the fortresses of Romagna should effectively be surrendered. After this, his intended watchman, cardinal Bernardino Carvajal, was to restore him to complete freedom. This plan was soon approved [91], although it was afterwards resolved that Cesar should be detained in the stronger castle of Ostia. The duke's friends obtained, on the 29th, that, for his greater security, this new agreement should be set forth in a consistorial bull, ordering Carvajal to give him full liberty of going wherever he might choose, as soon as the Romagna fortresses should be given up. But, if Cesar should not care to deliver the said forts, within forty days, he should be taken back to Rome and imprisoned for life [92].

The same day, pope Julius II informed his governor of Romagna, the archbishop of Ragusa, how he had come to an

88. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, p. 340.

89. Villari, ibid., p. 350 ; Burchard, Diarium, p. 320.—The cardinals Remolino and Pedro Ludovico de Borgia, frightened at the wrath of the Pontiff, fled to Naples.

90. Villari, ubi supra, p. 454.

91. Villari, ibid., pp. 398, 399.

92. Villari, ibid., p. 410 ; Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 331 ; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, vol. I, p. 319.

agreement with the duke, and he gave a safe-conduct to the castellans or their envoys, to freely come and return, in order to see for themselves how the duke of Valentinois had been released from jail in Rome, and to converse with him [93].

Cesar took leave of the Pontiff on the 14th of February, 1504, and the next day left Rome forever on a vessel for Ostia, accompanied by a few servants and by the papal treasurer, Francis di Castel del Rio [94]. The cardinal of the Holy Cross, Bernardino Carvajal, who was to prevent his escape, followed him two days later.

Giustinian reports that, on the 23d, there was in Ostia a nephew of the castellan of Cesena, to treat with the duke of the surrender of the fortresses [95]. That the negotiations were rapidly progressing appears from the fact, that already on the 7th of the month of March, pope Julius II made out a passport through the Pontifical States for Diego Quignonez and Rovegna, the castellans of Cesena and of Bertinoro [96].

Meanwhile, Gonsalvo de Mirafuentes, the Navarrese castellan of Forli, was unwilling to surrender his fortress, unless he should first receive the sum of fifteen thousand ducats. The Pope wanted this claim to be paid by Cesar de Borgia, who was loathe to spend such a sum, for the privilege of throwing away what he considered to be his own ; but his longing for liberty made him submit, on the 11th of March, 1504. Not having the money, he borrowed from the Spanish cardinals, who at the demand of the Pontiff, made the required deposit in a bank of Venice [97].

Well pleased with this act of Cesar's generosity, pope

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93. See Document 218.

94. Villari, Dispacci, vol. II, pp. 437, 438, 440.—Burchard, who on p. 332 of t. III, of his Diary assigns the 13th to Cesar's departure, probably wrote from failing memory. Gregorovius also mistakes when he gives the 16th, on p. 334, vol. I, of his Lucr. Borgia.

95. Villari, ibid., p. 447.

96. See Document 219.

97. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, pp. 16, 27, 31.

Julius II, on the 12th, graciously postponed ten days the fatal date of his last accord with the duke of Valentinois ; and soon after, another ten days of grace were added [98].

On the 18th, he dispatched to Cesena an envoy, to inform both him and cardinal Carvajal of the evacuation of the fortresses by the Spanish castellans as soon as it would take place [99] ; for the castellans had recently sent word, that they were ready to give up the castles to the papal commissaries [100]. There was but one obstacle left in the way of the final action, a doubt, namely, whether the Pope, after becoming the master of the Romagna fortresses, would actually allow to Cesar and his former castellans the promised liberty and security ; but the Pontiff reassured them, on the 16th of March, by giving them as warranty for his word, his own nephew, Sixtus, the brother of cardinal Galeotto della Rovere, who should go to one of the Colonna cities, in custody of the Spanish ambassador [101]. To give better satisfaction, Sixtus, the hostage, was, soon after, placed in charge of cardinal Carvajal, where he was to remain until he should be notified, that both Cesar and the castellans were free in a place of security [102].

On the 20th of April the Pope was greatly astonished, when hearing that the duke of Valentinois had, the previous night, left Ostia for the southern kingdom [103].

The cardinals Remolino and Pedro Ludovico de Borgia, fugitives from Rome in the city of Naples, aware of the future surrender of the Romagna fortresses and of the consequent liberation of the duke, had obtained that Gonsalvo, Spanish viceroy of Naples, should send a safe-conduct for Cesar, and

98. See Documents 220, 221.
99. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Julii II brevia, Armar. 39, t. XXII, fo 38vo.
100. Ibid., fo 32vo.
101. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Julii II brevia, Armar. 39, t. XXII, fo 37 ; Villari, vol. III, pp. 29, 40; Nardi, Istorie di Firenze, t. I, p. 319.
102. Villari, ubi supra, p. 58.
103. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 69 ; Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 350.

a flotilla to convey him from Ostia to Neapolitan territory [104]. When Cesar's castellans had finally given up their charge, the papal envoy, who was to forward the news, had immediately informed cardinal Carjaval, before notifying the Pontiff, who received the report from Ostia, together with the tiding of Cesar's departure.

Since the duke of Valentinois had fully satisfied the Pope by paying the fifteen thousand ducats demanded for the surrender of the Forli castle, and the fortresses of Cesena and of Bertinoro had now been placed in the hands of papal officials, Carvajal, feeling obliged to execute the corresponding conditions of the consistorial bull, had allowed Cesar at once to go where he pleased ; and, since the galleys, that were to conduct him to France, had been countermanded by order of the Pope, Cesar de Borgia had gladly accepted the vessels and the safe-conduct offered him by Gonsalvo [105]. The cardinal, moreover, before he had formally set him free, had made Cesar swear that he never would stand up against the Holy See, against the Pope or any of his relatives ; and, after his liberation, the duke had confirmed his promise [106].

Cardinal Carvajal was called to Rome a few days after ; and, upon his arrival, was highly praised by nearly all his colleagues, for having been faithful to his own pledge and to that of them all, as it was written in the consistorial bull [107]. The Pope was, however, little pleased with Cesar's liberation, and said that the cardinal of the Holy Cross had shown but meager respect for His Holiness and made light of his own

104. Jovius, Vita Consalvi, Lib. III, p. 273 ; Çurita, Historia del Rey Don Hernando, Lib. V, Cap. 68 ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 448.

105. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 350, n. 2 ; Dispatch of April 20th, 1504, of Francesco Pandolfini, Florentine envoy in Naples, ap. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 509.—Giustinian asserts that cardinal Carvajal advised Cesar to go to Naples, and obtained for him the Great Captain's safe-conduct: Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 128.

106. Villari, ibid., p. 80.

107. Villari, ibid., p. 76.

fidelity, by granting leave to the duke, without first consulting the Pope [108]. When, however, Carvajal gave him an account of his action, pope Julius II accorded him a long audience, thanked and praised him and retained him to dine together [109]. But, when the greedy de Mirafuentes refused to give up the castle of Forli on the stipulated conditions, through the alleged instigation of Cesar de Borgia, the Pope expressed again and more openly his dissatisfaction with the cardinal, in his brief of the 11th of May, 1504, addressed to the kings of Spain [110].

ARTICLE IV. — CESAR UNDER SPANISH POWER.

The duke of Valentinois had hardly landed on Neapolitan territory, when, day after day, several of his old friends, foreigners and young men of the Roman nobility went to join him, in the hope that he would soon enter upon some military expedition, and pay them well, as he had done before [111]. Ere long he had quite a number of men around him, and politicians were talking and writing of his future defence of Pisa against Florence, of his attack on Piombino or other possibilities, without being able, however, to determine any of his supposed designs.

Cesar was gathering troops with money borrowed from cardinal Vera, allowed if not helped by the Great Captain Gonsalvo, who gave him many demonstrations of friendship. The cardinals Remolino and de Borgia constantly attended on him, and his public standing was thereby increasing rapidly [112]. But all these and similar incidents aroused the suspicion of pope Julius II, who feared that the duke might yet return to his affectionate people of Forli, on whose castle his

108. Id. Ibid., p. 71.
109. Id. Ibid., p. 77.
110. See Document 221.
111. Villari, ubi supra, p. 77.
112. Id. Ibid., p. 86.

flag was still waving ; and he and his captain, the duke of Urbino, were openly complaining of Gonsalvo, because of the assistance which he seemed to give to the duke of Valentinois.

On the 11th of May, 1504, the Pontiff wrote to the Great Captain, accusing Cesar of being the cause of de Mirafuente's hostility, and requesting him to persuade and compel the duke to give up the fortress of Forli [113].

On the same day, pope Julius II issued a lenghty brief to their Catholic Majesties of Spain, to whom he related his agreement with the duke of Valentinois, and blamed the cardinal Carvajal for restoring him to liberty before the proper time. He stated that he had been told of the duke's contrivances to prevent the stipulated surrender of the castle of Forli, and of his being the cause of the stubborn and hostile disposition of the castellan of Forli. Towards the end of his letter, the Pope asked and admonished the Kings not to allow Cesar to injure any longer the Holy Roman Church and to further plot against her, while he was under their guard and protection. He plainly requested them to restrain and forcibly prevent him from doing any more damage to him and to the Holy See, and to expressly and effectively command him to give up the Forlivese fortress. He also reminded them of the disturbance which, to their disgrace, Cesar was apt to create in the whole of Italy [114].

These papal letters were well accepted and very successful; and their renewal, on the 25th of May [115], was simply superfluous. King Ferdinand was not unwilling to assist the Pontiff, but especially anxious to preserve in the Italian peninsula the peace and quietude which, to his benefit and glory, he had just obtained through his treaty with king Louis XII [116].

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113. See Document 222.
114. See Document 221.
115. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Julii II Brevia, Arm. 39, t. XXII, fiis 66vo and 67.
116. Francesco Pandolfini, Florentine ambassador in Naples, Dispatch of the 24th of April, 1504, ap. Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 509.

The viceroy, Gonsalvo, wrote to his Kings for directions and told them of Cesar's warlike designs ; and on the 26th of May, 1504, he received orders to place him under arrest [117].

The Great Captain's safe-conduct guaranteed to the duke a secure stay in the kingdom of Naples and his liberty of freely proceeding to any other country ; but did not afford him a place of security, where he could with impunity contrive and prepare warfare against the Pope or against any Italian power. Gonsalvo saw with displeasure his gathering of troops and of war material, and although he entertained him courteously and made various promises, he never procured him any actual assistance [118]. Before the 27th of May, 1504, he spoke to him very seldom [119], but on that date he called him to Naples, conversed for two hours with him, and then ordered the governor of the Castel Nuovo to detain the duke of Valentinois. When Cesar left the office of the viceroy, he wanted to go downstairs ; but the governor said to him : " Your rooms, my lord, are this way " ; and he led him to a large and beautiful compartment, where he was closely watched over night, and transferred, the following day, to a stronger room, whose windows were provided with a double set of bars. Cesar loudly objected and called his arrest an act of treachery ; but Gonsalvo contrived to get back his safe-conduct, and never spoke to the prisoner again [120].

The news of Cesar's incarceration was brought to Rome by a letter of Gonsalvo, which arrived on the 29th of May, and caused great joy to Giustinian, the Venetian envoy, and to

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117. Fr. Pandolfini, Dispatch of the 14th ibid. p. 514 ; and of the 28th, ibid., p. 517 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, pp. 125, 128 ; Jovius, Vita Consalvi, Lib. III, p. 275 ; Cantu, Histoire Univer., Liv. XV, Ch. III, p. 135, n.

118. Fr. Pandolfini, ubi supra, pp. 514, 516.

119. Id. Ibid., pp. 509, 510, 512.

120. Fr. Pandolfini, ibid., pp. 518, 521 ; Cfr. Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 449 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 125.

others, but especially to the Pope, who openly expressed his gratitude to the ambassador of Spain [121].

On the 10th of June, pope Julius II considered it as certain that Cesar would be sent over to Spain [122]. In fact, by order of king Ferdinand, Cesar de Borgia, bound and closely watched, with a single servant, was deported in a galley to Spain, about the 10th of August, 1504 [123]. Confined at first in the fortress of Seville, he was soon moved to the castle of Medina del Campo, in the former kingdom of Castilla [124].

The Spanish cardinals and other prominent Spaniards residing in Italy prepared petitions and pressing requests, in favor of their unfortunate countryman ; and they obtained great mitigation in the prisoner's treatment. Instead of one valet, eight servants were assigned to him. King Ferdinand even disclaimed his orders of arrest, but said that Cesar had been accused by Gonsalvo of many misdeeds ; and, should the charges be found untrue, he would not refuse to gratify the cardinals. Hence, strong hopes arose for Cesar's liberation [125]. The king of Navarra, John d'Albret, brother-in-law, and Cesar's sister, the duchess of Ferrara, made also great efforts to obtain his liberty ; but Ferdinand remained inflexible ; and, for almost two long years, the duke of Valentinois was pining away in the tower of Medina's castle [126].

After the demise of queen Elisabeth, the nobility of Castille tried to secure an administration separate from that of Aragon, and, desirous of availing themselves of the services of the

121. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 357 ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, pp. 125, 126, 127.

122. Villari, ibid., p. 140.

123. Burchard, Diarium, t. III, p. 363 ; Villari, ubi supra, p. 217; Jovius, Vita Consalvi, Lib. III, p. 273 or seq. ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 451, where he mistakes the date.

124. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 307, from the letters of Jayme de Requesenz, Cesar's majordomo ; Jovius, ubi supra.

125. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 306, 307, Refer. to a dispatch of Costabili, dated Rome the 27th of Oct., 1504.

126. Gregorovius, ibid. ; Villari, Dispacci, vol. III, p. 358 ; Jovius, ubi supra.

famous condottiere, Cesar de Borgia, they planned his deliverance from the Medina castle. The guards around his prison became negligent or, more probably, had been bribed by members of the Castillan party [127].

On the 25th of October, 1506, watching for his opportunity, Cesar crept through a window of his tower, let himself down the high walls, by means of a silken cord or ladder, smuggled into his seclusion ; and fled to the mansion of count Pigmentelli of Benavente, where he was well received and remained for a length of time [128].

During the month of November, Lucretia de Borgia received in Ferrara the news of her brother's escape [129].

The count Pigmentelli provided horses for Cesar, in order that he might flee out of the domain of the Spanish king, to the city of Pamplona in Navarra, the kingdom of his brother-in-law [130], where he arrived on the 3d of December [131].

From Pamplona he sent his former majordomo, Jayme de Requesenz, to the king of France, in order to request the favor of being admitted into his service again ; but Louis XII. remembering the duke's recourse to the Spaniards after making his treaty with the French, was unwilling to consider the proposition and dismissed the envoy. Soon after Cesar's death, he even deprived his widow, Charlotte d'Albret, of all the income, that he was wont to receive from his French estates [132].

Refused in France, Cesar was very welcome to remain in Navarra, whose King was just then at war with one of his

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127. Cfr. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 324.

128. Jovius, Vita Consalvi, Lib. III and Elogia, Lib. IV, p. 132 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra.

129. Gregorovius, ibid., s. 323.

130. Jovius, Vita Consalvi, Lib. III ; Alvisi, Cesare Borgia, p. 453; Auct. passim.

131. Letter of Cesar to the Marquis of Mantua, dated the 7th, ap. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 325.

132. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 327 ; Paris, Archiv. Nation., K. 188, no. 154, ad finem

vassals, Louis de Beaumonte, count of Lerins and a constable of Castille. In the pay of his royal brother, Cesar went to besiege de Beaumonte's castle of Viana ; but there he was struck by a bullet, and on the 12th of March, 1507, fell in a tumultuary skirmish, which his talent and courage had already turned into a victory for the king of Navarra [133].

Moreri [134] says that his soldiers wrapped his corpse in a scarlet mantle and carried it to Pamplona. He was honorably buried in that city, of which he had been named a bishop sixteen years before.

A Latin poet epitomizes his life in two lines :

Cesar Borgia was a Cesar in name and in deed.

Or Cesar or Nothing ! he said. He was both [135].

There still exists a monument that speaks the praise of Cesar de Borgia. It is the Hospital della Consolazione in Rome. When it was restored in A. D. 1710, the escutcheon of pope Alexander VI still crowned its gate and a memorial stone bore the inscription :

" Thou seest, O Stranger, this part of the Archhospital of the Most Holy Consolation constructed by the Duke of Valentinois, and destined for sick women (...restored) in the year 1710 [136].

When it was further renovated in the year 1735, a marble slab was placed over the main entrance on the inside, with the words :

" Archhospital called : Portico of Consolation and Grace from the name of the Immaculate Virgin Mary, erected by the Duke of Valentinois... restored in the year 1735 " [137].

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133. Jovius, Elogia, Lib. IV, p. 132 ; Gregorovius, ubi supra, s. 328 ; Moroni, Dizionario, Art. Borgia, p. 48 ; Moreri, Grand Diction. Art. Borgia, Civiltà Cattolica, ser. 9, vol. VIII, p. 293.

134. Ibid.

135. See Document 223.

136. Bibl. Vaticana, Ottoboniana, Cod. 2408, f° 45.

137. Morichini, Degli Instituti di Carità in Roma, p. 158.

ANNEX

Credibility of Contemporary Authors.

AN ANONYMOUS LAMPOON.

We have sufficiently expressed our estimate of the original manuscript History of pope Alexander VI, which we called, in the third chapter of our Second Volume, a stupid lampoon. The learned Bollandist, M. Matagne, in reviewing the work of Father Ollivier : " Le pape Alexandre VI et les Borgia ", expresses the following appreciation of that writing [1] : " Ollivier declares why he rejects Burchard, Infessura, Guicciardini and others ; but he does not say what makes him so easily believe the assertions of the Anonymous Life. We would feel inclined to conclude, from the description, which he gives of it, that it is devoid of any historical value. In fact, it is, according to Father Ollivier, a work much more complete than those of Burchard and of Infessura, superabundant in details, rich in sufficiently scandalous anecdotes and close enough to the events to appear contemporary. He admits that the Manuscript is extremely weak as an historical production, which makes Calixtus III, who died in the year 1458, reign until 1490. Indeed, it makes the dead arise, and, without ceremony, it sends the living to the region of the shades. It makes Ferdinand of Naples disappear before the election of Alexander VI and Lucretia de Borgia before her father (sic.). Such is the Manuscript Life, wonderfully recommended by Ollivier. Any statement founded on the sole testimony of the anonymous writer, thus well informed, is not even worthy of discussion ".

1. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XI, p. 182.

ÆGIDIUS OF VITERBO.

Ægidius was born in Viterbo during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and died in the year 1532. He was Superior General of the Order of St. Augustin when, in 1517, he was made a cardinal by pope Leo X [2]. The Bibliotheca Angelica of Rome, Codex C. 8, 19, preserves the manuscript of his principal composition, entitled " Historia Viginti Seculorum ".

He wrote mainly from hearsay, at the time that the petty princes of the Pontifical States were taking revenge for inflicted punishment, by reviling the hated memory of pope Alexander VI.

He mentions the great qualities of that Pontiff, his abstinence and some other virtues [3] ; but he is simply the echo of the blame and reproaches of the now restored rebellious little tyrants, whose former subjection to their Sovereign he summarily relates, attributing to deceit and cruelty every success of the papal army. He excuses the conspiracy of La Magione and has not a word of the conspirators' second plot against the life of Cesar de Borgia.

At times he is even misled to make reports, disgraceful to the Borgia family, as when he states the rumor that Giovanni de Borgia, duke of Gandia, was cast into the Tiber by his own brother, Cesar [4], and that pope Alexander VI died of poison [5] : two errors sufficiently disproved.

ALBÈRI.

An ancient law ordered the Venetian ambassadors to read before the Senate, and to deposit in the ducal chancery a

2. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Aegidius von Viterbo.
3. Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Cod. C. 8, 19, f° 327vo.
4. Bibl. Angelica, Cod. C. 8, 19, f° 326.
5. Ibid., f° 331.

written report of their acts and observations during the time of their embassy ; but this rule fell into desuetude, till it was renewed in the year 1533. Of the end of the 15th century and of the beginning of the 16th, only a few such " Relazioni ", and practically none from the Roman ambassadors of Venice were written and placed among the archives. Of Polo Cappello and of his immediate successors at the papal court no report is to be found [6].

It is evident, therefore, that the " Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti, which Albèri has published at Florence in the year 1846, are, in part at least, composed by a man quite different from the Venetian envoys in Rome. He has consulted ancient authors and archives ; but his work has naturally undergone the influence of his likes and dislikes, and can in no way, claim the authority of an original and official document. It can at best, have but the value of a learned forgery.

AMMANATI PICCOLOMINI, JAMES, CARDINAL OF PAVIA

was an occasional correspondent of cardinal Roderic de Borgia. Though a less prominent member of the Sacred College, he was an elegant Latinist, who wrote quite a large volume of letters, the greater number of which relate to his own interests or to matters of little public importance. Those touching on the acts of cardinal de Borgia, or written to him, are not always of a like tenor or tendency. They are full of blame at times, and very flattering on other occasions. Their author, consequently, is liable to suspicion. Pastor and Schmarsow consider his authority as very doubtful [7]. While

6. Tom. Gar. ap. Albèri, Relazioni, ser. 2, vol. III, p. II ; Armand Baschet, La Diplomatie Vénitienne, p. 368 ; H. Matagne, ap. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XI, p. 185.

7. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 417, n. 1.

de l'Epinois states [8] that his writings cannot be neglected, we think it necessary, in order to derive true and full testimony from them, to study and compare more of these letters than later historians have done so far.

BEMBO, PETER.

Born in Venice in the year 1470, Bembo passed his youth in learning the Italian, the Latin and the Greek languages, and pursued his philosophical studies at Padua and Ferrara. After this he enjoyed for a period of six years the care and liberality of the duke of Urbino, and, in 1512, he made his first visit to Rome. About 1525 he reluctantly became the historiographer of the Venetian republic and wrote his " Historiae Venetae ", printed in Venice. He was elevated to the cardinalate in A. D. 1539, and died in Rome in the year 1547 [9].

Bembo never was in the Pontifical States, to possibly be a personal witness to the actions of pope Alexander VI ; and, being a Venetian, later a protege and friend of the duke of Urbino, and the official historian of a State long opposed to the said Pope, he was necessarily biased in favor of his country [10], and readily reported some at least of the calumnious rumors spread against the Roman Pontiff, who subjected his rebel feudatories and withstood the ambition of Venice. In fact, he commences and finishes Alexander's pontificate by making two serious mistakes, attributing his election to bribery, and his death to poison prepared by himself for cardinal Adrian of Corneto [11]. Bembo, moreover, wrote history in spite of his inclination, and, a proud Latinist, paid less attention to his assertions, than to the words and style in which he made them.

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8. Rev. des Quest. Hist., t. XXIX, p. 362.
9. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Bembo, Pietro.
10. Ranke, Zur Kritik, s. 88.
11. Historiæ Venetæ, pp. 32 and 218.

ALEXANDER BENEDETTI,

a contemporary of pope Alexander VI, commenced on the 18th of June, 1495, his Journal, written in Latin and printed in Italian at Venice in the year 1549, under the title of " Il fatto d'Arme del Taro ", taken from the most important event related therein.

His statements generally agree with those of the best historians, and the only objection made to him is that he is somewhat prejudiced in favor of the Venetian republic and against the neighboring princes.

DE BRANCA DE TELINI, SEBASTIAN.

The Codex LIV, 22 of the Roman Bibliotheca Barberini contains the " Diario " of a certain Sebastiano de Branca de Telini or Talini, who lived probably at the end of the fifteenth century. The Diary which repeats nearly all the slanders ever brought forth against pope Alexander VI and the other Borgias, is an accumulation of statements, that may sometimes approach the truth, but which mostly are flagrant mistakes and proofs of crass ignorance.

Thus in the first folio of his work he states that the Pope called, for his defence against Ferdinand of Naples, the emperor of Germany and the king of France, who claimed, that the Neapolitan kingdom belonged to the duke " del Reno ", (for René of Anjou); that about this matter the Emperor and the King of France went in conference and decided to proceed together into Italy (!). On the same folio, he makes of the cardinal of Montereale a son of pope Alexander VI. On folio 4, he states that Cesar de Borgia assassinated his brother, the duke of Gandia, and threw him into " a river ". On folio 11, he narrates how " the king of France first gave to the king of Spain the whole of Apulia

and of Calabria, and then how they went to war against each other, and the French took everything from the Spaniards ; and this was in the year 1502 " (!). Such blunders occur frequently.

Branca de Talini may be quoted in further confirmation of historical facts already known, but his testimony cannot decide any question.

BIAGIO BUONACCORSI.

Buonaccorsi was a clerck of the Florentine council of the Ten of War. He wrote the " Diario de Successi più importanti seguiti in Italia dall' anno 1498 all' anno 1512 ", printed at Florence in A. D. 1568.

He was in a position to be well informed about the warlike disturbances of those years in Tuscany and the adjoining territories ; and relates them in an orderly manner ; but at times he reveals his ignorance in matters beyond the range of his ordinary employment.

He is not a declared enemy of pope Alexander VI, and does not relate the scandalous stories, which he, no doubt, had heard others tell on him ; but he is a true patriot of Florence, the Pontiff's political adversary ; and his narrative, which omits the treachery of the duke of Urbino and the renewed plot of the conspirators of La Magione against the life of Cesar de Borgia, leaves upon his readers an impression unfavorable to that Pope and especially to the captain of his army.

JOHN BURCHARD.

Born at Haslach near Strassburg, about the middle of the XV century, Burchard went, in 1481, to seek his fortune in Rome. Pope Sixtus IV appointed him a Master of Ceremo-

nies, on the 29th of November, 1483 [12]. As years went on, Burchard acquired several benefices, especially in and around Strassburg [13]. In 1496, cardinal Pérault was on the point of resigning in his favor the diocese of Gurck and emperor Maximilian had already given his consent ; but the objection that he was a stranger to Germany, " ein fremder Schwab ", and that he was likely to spoil that diocese, disappointed him in his expectation [14]. On October 3d, 1503, pope Pius III made him bishop of Orte [15] and Julius II confirmed him in that diocese and added to it the one of Città Castellana, on the 29th of November of the same year [16]. He died in Rome on the 16th of May, 1506 [17].

The principal work of Burchard is his " Diarium " or " Rerum Urbanarum Commentarii ", commencing with the 21st of December, 1483, under the pontificate of Sixtus IV, and finishing under pope Julius II with the month of May, 1506 ; thus giving particulars of five consecutive Supreme Pontiffs. Fragments and parts of the diary have been published at various times. In 1649, Godefroy printed some portions, as proofs of the Memoirs of Philippe de Commines; and his son has inserted seven pages of them in his Observations on the History of Charles VIII. Raynaldi has quoted several passages in his " Annales Ecclesiastici ". In 1697, Leibnitz printed in Hannover an " Excerptum " from the Wolfenbach Bibliothek, concerning pope Alexander VI, under the title of " Historia Arcana de Vita Alexandri VI ", and Eccard made public a Berlin manuscript, varying considerably

12. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Sixti IV. Officia, Lib. V, f° 137vo.
13. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Div. Cam., 1492-1495. Lib. I. Armar. 29, no. 50, f° 32vo, and Alex. VI. Secret., an. I, Lib. I, Regest. 867, f° 73.
14. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarch. Maximiliana, 1496, Aug. 14.
15. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 281.
16. Ibid., p. 309.
17. Ibid., p. 426.

from, and more defective and incorrect than Leibnitz's publication, in his " Corpus Historicum Medi Aevi ". In 1787, Foncemagne and Bréquigni edited from the Parisian manuscript certain notices on Burchard's writing, and in 1854, Achille Gennarelli commenced his edition of the Diary reaching only till the year 1494 [18]. Those publications can hardly be recognized as agreeing with Burchard's journal. Finally, in the year 1885, L. Thuasne has given an edition from the correct, if not the authentic manuscript of Burchard's Diary; so he contends, which differs considerably from the former publications [19].

The opinions of later historians greatly differ as to the authority and historical value of Burchard's Diary. His veracity was already doubted by Ciaconius, and, according to Rawdon Brown, [20] the ridiculous deformities of his work preclude all belief. Bone, in the Kirchenlexicon [21], remarks that the variations in the Diary's manuscript copies have resulted in making its authenticity itself very uncertain, and that after being at the whims of various copyists, it can by no means be held as a source of history. Even the Chigi manuscript, so highly estimated by Thuasne, is declared by Gregorovius to be spoiled, " verdorben " [22]; and other transcribers have taken over its defects and added more of their own.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica notices the Diary as " a record replete with trivialities and not exempt from interpolations, but containing indisputable evidence of perfect candor ". The simplicity of Burchard's narrative and his

18. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 601 ; Rev. des Quest. Histor., vol. XXIX, p. 360 ; Kirchenlexicon, Art. Burchard, Johann.

19. Thuasne's edition is the one quoted by us all through the present work.

20. Burchard, Diary, t. III, p. XLVIII, no. 3.

21. Ubi supra.

22. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 444, no. 2.

occasional self-corrections convince us, indeed, that he never tells a wilful untruth and that we can believe whatever he states to have witnessed personally himself, especially the details of his functions as a master of ceremonies ; but we agree that there are good reasons to doubt and to believe many items reported in his diary.

Burchard states himself that he often writes from hearsay : " Si vera mihi sunt relata, si bene memini, credo, si bene intellexi ", if he truth has been told to me, if I remember well, I believe, if I understood rightly, without giving the names or indicating the credibility of his irresponsible informers. It is easily observed that the diarist was of no superficial mind, very inquisitive and extremely credulous. Story tellers played jokes on him at times, as when they made him believe and admit into his journal that the Pope, in order to deceive cardinal Orsini, assured him that he would resign the papal tiara in his favor [23] ! So also is his authority of little importance in matters which transpired outside of Rome. He thus relates that the chevalier Orsini, together with Paulus and the duke of Gravina, were strangulated at the castle della Pieve, by order of the duke of Valentinois, although the chevalier was alive eights months longer [24].

The order, followed in the diary, suggests the idea that Burchard wrote down day after day the facts as they took place ; but he often recorded from fallible memory events which had happened long before. There are, for instance, related under date of the 2d of November, 1502, the efforts of pope Alexander VI to reconcile the conspirators of La Magione, with the alleged intention of taking revenge and of extirpating them ; but he reveals the time of the actual record-

23. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 223. The passage may be an interpolation.

24. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 234 and n.

ing by adding : " quod tandem evenit ", which happened at last, namely, the following year [25] !

On the contrary, he sometimes relates facts before they took place, as when, on December the 16th, 1496, he reports that the cardinal of Gurck insulted the Pope by reminding him of his imputed correspondence with sultan Bajazeth [26], whereas the cardinal was absent at that time. The unlikely incident is related again on the following 22d of January, when different circumstances made the insult improbable only, not impossible [27].

Ranke complains of the recurring lacunas, which necessarily impair the value of the Diary [28]. But the filling of these gaps with particulars taken from hearsay or, worse yet, with interpolations, is more detrimental still to the historical worth of Burchard's diary.

Thuasne himself warns us that the lacuna from August to December, 1492, had been bridged over with a long interpolation from Infessura, as also the one from June 1493 to January 1494. The gaps of 1497 and of 1503 remained vacant, and the others were filled by Burchard himself, from reports of his friends or afterwards by some enterprising copyist of his manuscript.

All through the diary it is, moreover, hard to know whether we meet with an original entry or with a later inserted item. Thuasne pretends that the passage of the Diary, Tome III, pages 182 and following, was written by Burchard. It is one of the most shocking, being a letter addressed to Silvio

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25. Ibid., t. III, p. 152.
26. Ibid., t. II, p. 202.
27. Ibid., t. II, p. 233.
28. Zur Kritik, s. 99. Some of these gaps at the time of pope Alexander VI are as follows : 1. From the 11th of August to December 2d, 1492. 2. From June 10th, 1493, to January the 11th, 1494. 3. From June the 19th to the 8th of August, 1497. 4. From June 31st to October 30th, 1498. 5. From the end of July to the 12th of November, 1502 ; and 6. From the 22d of February to August the 12th, 1503.

Savelli, on the pretended scandals of the Roman court. Leonetti is justly astonished, however, at seeing that impertinent epistle inserted here, and the Civiltà Cattolica finds in its context the proofs of its Protestant origin [29]. The heading : " Superioribus diebus impressa fuit in Alemania... " evidently belongs to the insertion made into some of the diary's first manuscript copies.

John Burchard has been accused of gluttony, of avarice and of other vices. His successor in office, Paris de Grassis said of him, by way of a funeral oration [30] : " Si humanus vivens fuisset, sed non solum non humanus sed supra omnes bestias bestialissimus, inhumanissimus, invidiosissimus... referendarios, de quorum numero ipse erat fraudulenter factus ". Nowhere, however, do we find him accused or suspected of any the least immorality. And yet, Burchard would be the vilest of pornographers, if several of his tales were not mere interpolations of later lascivious forgers. Such are the shocking anecdotes of Tome III, pp. 108, seq., as Thuasne himself surmises them to be. Such is still more the description of the carousal of the fifty courtesans and other storiettes, which Ranke assures [31] to be originated by Boccaccio and transferred as recent facts into Burchard's diary. Certainly such tales of the famous diarist deserve no more attention than the daily lies of our newspapers, as the Archivio Storico Italiano says [32]; and de l'Epinois indicates that all these vilifying anecdotes were invented by the Pope's enemies, numerous at the time, in order to take revenge for the blows which they had had to undergo.

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29. Ser. 3, vol. VII, p. 205. Rawdon Brown says : Il paraît que ces autheurs écrivaient pour les Luthériens ; mais leur but, pour les historiens au moins, a été manqué : Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 360, from Ragguagli sulla Vita di Marin Sanuto, p. 206.

30. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 426, n. 1.

31. Zur Kritik, s. 99.

32. Ser. 3, vol. XVI, p. 490.

JULIAN CÆSARINI

was a Roman nobleman and a cardinal during the pontificates of Alexander VI, Pius III and Julius II.

He wrote a lengthy Memoir, a copy of which is preserved in the Codex XXXIII, 48, f° 24, of the Barberini Library in Rome.

He relates a most important episode of pope Alexander's history : the invasion of Rome by Charles VIII, and all its circumstances with their respective dates, the threats of the French king, the thefts and murders of his army and the hard conditions imposed on the Sovereign Pontiff. He also gives a detailed report of the conquest of Naples, of king Charles' return to France, and of the recovery of the Southern kingdom by king Ferdinand II.

Not only is Cæsarini an eyewitness but also a sufferer of the facts which he recounts. He is a calm narrator of the successive events, apparently free of hatred and passion. There is no reason why his writings should be doubted in the least, but he combines all the qualities that make his narrative,—at least in regard to the happenings in and near Rome,—absolutely certain.

ALEXIS CELADENUS OR CELADONIUS, BISHOP OF GALLIPOLI.

R. Garnett writes in the English Historical Review of April 1892, t. VII, p. 311 :

" A contemporary oration on pope Alexander VI. This oration is mentioned by Burchard, Sept. 16, 1503 [33], who records that the bishop of Gallipoli, Alexis Celadenus or Celadonius, delivered a discourse, a " tediosa et longa oratio ",

33. Diar., t. III, p. 267.

to the cardinals about to enter into conclave for the election of a successor to pope Alexander VI. Thuasne states that the oration exists in Ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. The oration was printed shortly after, probably in Rome, and the only copy known at present had just been purchased by the British Museum.

It contains on account of pope Alexander of almost unique value, not merely as the judgment of a contemporary, but as delivered before an audience of contemporaries, whose station had brought them into almost daily intercourse with the deceased pope, and before whom any serious misrepresentation would have been impossible ".

Celadonius was evidently compelled to tell nothing but the truth, all the more, because his statements soon challenged, in printed form, the criticism of all his contemporaries. Hence the great reliability of Celadonius. Moreover, the fortunes of the house of Borgia were too unpromising to tempt a flatterer. It is, however, astonishing to see how the orator dares to praise a Pope, whose revengeful enemies had already returned to their estates and their power, whose countrymen had just been slaughtered in Rome, whose favorite captain was in almost immediate danger of death. The discourse is, however, a complete panegyric of that Pope, without any attempt at excusing his alleged immoral life, apparently unknown, and without even a single hint at it

PHILIPPE DE COMMINES, SEIGNEUR D'ARGENTON.

His " Memoires ", five volumes, were printed in Brusselle, in 1723, and frequently in other cities.

Raynaldi calls him [34] a great lover of truth, remarkable for his prudence and piety. He can be relied upon, when relating

34. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1498, n. IV.

what he has done or seen himself ; but he believes too easily sometimes what he has heard from others. A Frenchman, he favors his Kings; as when he accuses the Roman Pontiff of calling Charles VIII into Italy and of abandoning him afterwards [35], without noticing that pope Alexander VI had, indeed, repeatedly invited him to make an expedition against the Turks, and opposed him when it became evident that the King's real design was the conquest of Naples. That Commines is rather unfriendly to the Pope, appears on more than one occasion.

SIGISMONDO DEI CONTI.

Born in Foligno about the year 1440, Sigismondo passed a considerable portion of his life as an Apostolic scriptor and as a prominent papal secretary at the court of Rome, where he died in 1512. His great historical work was published in Rome in 1883, together with its translation, under the title of " Le Storia de' Suoi Tempi dal 1475 al 1510 " [36].

His colleague, Jacob of Volterra, wrote already of him : He is a most excellent man, of high literary culture, remarkable for his modesty and worthy of honor because of his grave conduct [37]. So also other contemporaries speak of him with great respect. He is, therefore, an ideal witness of nearly all the events which he relates, and his History deserves as much credibility as any other written about that time ; although Pastor justly remarks [38] that he compensates the favors received from the family della Rovere, by painting its members in all too favorable a light, while he severely and,

35. de l'Epinois, ap. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 408 and n. 2.
36. Le Storie, vol. I, pp. III, XVI, XX, XXXI.
37. Ibid., p. XX.
38. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II. s. 571.

we might say, sometimes unjustly speaks of Alexander VI, after the death of that Pontiff.

BERNARDIN CORIO.

Born in Milan on the 6th of March, 1459, Corio died in May, 1519 [39]. He finished writing his History at the end of the year 1503 [40], when the floodgates of calumny against pope Alexander VI had just been thrown open by the death of that Pontiff.

He can hardly be called an enemy of the Pope, and relates many particulars that are to the latter's honor. He is, however, above all, with soul and body a devoted servant of the Sforza house, and especially of Ludovico the Moro, for whose attempted preservation from ruin he willingly took up arms in Milan [41].

His late editor, De Magri, accuses him [42] of lack of courage in speaking frankly of Ludovico, of exaggerating the good that he finds in him and of dissimulating his evil deeds.

Corio was a contemporary, but not an eyewitness of what he relates of pope Alexander VI and gives too ready belief to the slanderous rumors that reached the city of Milan ; as, when trying to exculpate his patron, he represents the Pope as his accomplice in calling Charles VIII into Italy, although he copies several documents that invalidate the imputation. Neither should we wonder if he, at one place [43], makes mention of the slanders, originated or rehearsed by Ludovico Sforza, after he had become the Pontiff's bitterest enemy ; namely, of the simony of Alexander's election, of his immoral life and the great number of his concubines, of his future deposition

39. Introduction to the 1855 Edition of his " Storia di Milano ", pp. XXXV, XL.
40. Last page of his work.
41. Storia di Milano, vol. III, p 688.
42. Introd., pp. XXI, XXII.
43. Storia di Milano, vol. III, p 525.

by a general council, of his murders and of his being a Marrano heretic : all of these were mere rumors, long since either doubted or proved to be invented and false.

Corio is one of the most reliable historians of his time, but must be read with discretion, whenever he treats of matters relating directly to Ludovico the Moro or to Alexander VI.

PIETRO DELFINI (DELPHINO),

Superior General of the Camaldolite Order, lived during both the cardinalate and the pontificate of pope Alexander VI. Obliged by his eminent position, he often travelled from one Italian city to another and he visited Rome on several occasions. He was also in constant correspondence with the highest personages of his day, and thus well informed of diplomatic transactions and especially of all religious events of that period. A pious religious, he is justly considered as incapable of telling a wilful untruth ; and his letters are admitted by all historians of pope Alexander VI. In one of these letters [44] he says : " I have never thought of resisting the Pontiff's authority, and I obey him and regard him with the greatest veneration ".

MICHAEL FERNUS.

A detailed account of the election of pope Alexander VI and of his coronation has been left to us by Michael Fernus, a Milanese, who was at the time a " Causarum Procurator " at the Roman court. His beautiful description, called " Conclave Alexandri Sexti Pontificis Maximi ", was printed in Rome in the year 1493, and is still preserved in manuscript form by the Roman Barberini Library, Codex XXXIII, 159,

44. Epist. Libro. VI. Ep. 5.

and by the Bibliotheca Vaticana Latina, in Codex 8407 : Conclavi diversi, f° 62.

Fernus, although unknown to the revilers of pope Alexander VI, is a most credible witness, who writes, in elegant yet simple style, of facts and events, which he has seen with his own eyes, as he states himself, and he does not fear to publish and expose his narrative to the censure of his contemporaries.

He speaks very highly of the new Pontiff, whom he calls by his former name as cardinal de Borgia, and remarks that his natural talents and his virtuous life almost compelled his colleagues to give him their vote. Of the immorality or other depravities, afterwards imputed to Alexander VI, Fernus has not a word.

NICHOLAS GLASSBERGER

entered the Order of the Franciscan Observantines in the year 1472. In and before 1508, he wrote his Chronicle, and from its contents it is apparent that he was a learned and fervent religious, perfectly acquainted with the smallest details of his institution, its history and its local and Roman authorities. He deserves absolute credibility.

JOANNES GOBELLINUS.

The " Pii II. Pont. max. Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae temporibus suis contigerunt " were composed " a R. D. Joanne Gobellino ", upon notes of pope Pius II himself ; and were published in Rome in the year 1584, and in Frankfort in 1614.

The work is of great historical importance and regarded by all later authors as absolutely reliable.

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI.

Guicciardini was born in Florence on the 6th of March, 1483, and died in May, 1540.

We shall not speak of the low estimate of his character in his native city [45].

He was young and unfit to write at the death of Alexander VI, whose history he incorporated into his " Storia d'Italia ", written towards the end of his life. Hence, he wrote from hearsay and information transmitted at a time, when the hatred and spirit of revenge were still at their height with the Roman barons and the petty princes, whom that Pontiff had punished for their rebellion and tyranny. Common talk and the diatribes of Sanazzaro and of Pontano were the sources from which he drew his narrative. So Gregorovius says [46], and Ranke [47] assures us that Guicciardini cannot lay claim to the originality nor even to the careful research, that are attributed to him even to this day. After giving several instances of plagiarism [48], he remarks that Guicciardini has simply copied many of his statements, in particular his accusation of Alexander's insatiable avarice and of his ardent wish to elevate, no matter by what means, his children, of whom he had many [49], he says.

A partisan of the popular government inaugurated by Savonarola, he readily changed his political convictions at the return of the Medici, by whom he was given an official position. He, naturally, had little good to say of a Pope, who had never fully agreed with the policy of the Florentines. He hated pope Alexander VI and the whole family Borgia ; nor did he disguise his hatred but frankly confessed it. In

45. See Symonds, Renaissance in Italy, pp. 273, 274.
46. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 179.
47. Zur Kritik Neuerer Geschichtschr., s. 15.
48. Ibid., s. 17.
49. Avaricia insatiabili, ardentissima cupidità di esaltare in qualunque modo figliuoli i quali erano molti.

fact, he found fault with all Popes, and charged them with the calamities of the times [50]. No one can justly quote him as an unprejudiced authority. On the contrary, he wrote as an advocate of the party he was interested in, rather than as a historian ; he is incorrect and untruthful, Gibert says [51]. Ranke has proved that he falsified the very events in which he took part and wilfully belied pope Alexander VI [52]. He has a paragraph titled : " Of Guicciardini's false narratives ", and he adds [53] : " It would be useless work to count together Guicciardini's principal errors ; and to notice them all, would be to write a new history. We must clearly understand that the authority, which has been attributed to his work, has been awarded unjustly ". Voltaire himself writes : " I dare say to Guicciardini : You have deceived Europe, and your passion has deceived you ; you were an enemy of the Pope, and you have too well believed your hatred " [54].

ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN. (Notes).

At the creation of (9) cardinals, on May 31, 1503, Giustinian makes the remark that the Pope had announced but four [55]. Pastor [56] observes : " Giustinian's Bemerkung, man habe nur auf vier neue Cardinäle gerechtnet, ist nicht richtig, wie denn überhaupt die Berichte dieses Venetianars nur mit Vorsicht benutzt werden dürfen ".

Villari, Dispacci II, 116 : Giustinian, at the last sickness of Alexander VI : " non si vede alcuna palese novità, perbenche tutti stian sopra di sè, con deciderio però de ognum

50. Cerri, Alessandro VI Papa, vol. I, p. 19 ; Gilbert, Lucr. Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara, vol. I, p. 23 ; Cantu, La Réforme en Italie, Disc. IX, p. 377.
51. Ubi supra.
52. Zur Kritik Neuerer Geschichtschr., s. 24, 28.
53. Ibid., s. 30.
54. Dissertation sur la mort d'Henry IV, copied by Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 477.
55. Villari, Disp. II, p. 29.
56. Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 166, n. 2.

che questa infermità debba esser el fin de le tribulazion de la Cristianità " !

On the occasion of slander of Marin Sanuto against Cesar de Borgia, Yriarte [57] remarks : " L'assertion est perfide et contraire à toute tradition ; mais les témoignages des Vénitiens, à partir de la Campagne des Romagnes, deviennent suspects ".

STEPHEN INFESSURA.

After having been, in the year 1478, a papal magistrate, " podestà ", in Orte, he is known as a Clerk, " Scriba del Senato et Popolo Romano ", of the Senate and People of Rome [58]. While he was a revolutionary patriot and an enemy of the Popes and of their temporal power, his bitter criticisms and his strong hatred exceeded sometimes his own design [59].

He wrote a Diary, the " Diarium Romanae Urbis ", commencing with the year 1294, and ending in April, 1494. It covers but twenty months of pope Alexander's reign ; yet has much evil to tell of him. It misrepresents his election, reviles the Roman convents and makes many other calumnious statements.

The Diary was printed by Eccard, in his Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi, and afterwards by Muratori [60]. The latter publisher states that he has long doubted whether he should bring this writer before the public ; for he can not ignore, he says, that Infessura is much inclined to calumny. Yet, I shall omit a few passages, he adds, that appear too unclean and too unworthy of being presented to honest eyes and ears.

57. Les Borgia, t. I, p. 203, n. 2.
58. Civiltà Cattol., an. 19, vol. I, p. 147 ; Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 361.
59. Thuasne, Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. II.
60. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, t. III, P. II, p. 1109.

If one finds his pleasure in reading immoral filth, let him look for Eccard's edition [61].

Shröckh, Cardinal Hergenroether, Christophe, Brueck, the Civiltà Cattolica, Hagen, Pastor and other modern historians accuse Infessura of malicious slander ; and von Reumont calls him the true representative of the Roman indestructible calumny, who has supplied abundant matter to such as take pleasure in scandalous stories [62].

Raynaldi calls the diarist a most accurate writer, saying that pope Alexander VI was crowned on the 26th of July [63] ! and Matagne seems to believe that his diary is perfect after it has been expunged by Muratori [64] ; but their opinion is little accepted by other late writers. de l'Epinois says : " Beaucoup de documents ", that is, writings of pope Alexander's time, " evidently carry the imprint of passionate feelings against the papacy, and, in the midst of accurate details, contain stories invented or amplified, which the enemies of the Popes spread about, to revenge themselves by epigrams of the lashes to which they had had to submit. The diary of Infessura is of this character ". He also admits that it contains many errors [65]. So, indeed, Infessura asserts, besides many more mistakes, that cardinal Orsini received cardinal de Borgia's palace ; and Sclafetani, the government of Nepi, at Alexander's election ; although it is well known that cardinal Sforza received the one and the other [66]. Pastor proves [67] that Infessura cannot be considered as a reliable source of history, and that his diary should not be used but with the greatest prudence and the application of the severest rules of criticism.

61. Civiltà, ubi supra, p. 148 ; Leonetti, Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 484.
62. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. II, s. 557, n. 2.
63. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXVIII.
64. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XI, p. 188.
65. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, pp. 360, 388.
66. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, 276.
67. Ibid., s. 557.

JACOB OF VOLTERRA.

Jacob of Volterra, a highly considered papal secretary under pope Innocent VIII [68], wrote the " Diarii della Corte di Roma, dall' anno 1479 sino all' anno 1484 " [69] published as " Diarium Romanum " by Muratori, Scriptores, XXIII, 81-203, and in Milan, 1733 [70]. He often mentions cardinal Roderic de Borgia very favorably.

Jacob of Volterra acknowledges that he writes because writing pleases him better than doing nothing ; but his information is not very important [71].

PAUL JOVE.

Paolo Giovio was born in Corno from noble parentage, in the year 1483. He became a Medicean attendant at the court of pope Leo X, and was named by Clement VII, bishop of Nocera, but played, as such, a role that was but little edifying. Pope Paul III refused him to promotion to the bishopric of his native city, and, indignant, he withdrew to Florence, where he died in 1552 [72].

The opposition of Florence to the policy of pope Alexander VI survived in Paul Jove ; for he wrote not a word in favor of that Pontiff, but called him the most wretched prince of his time [73], and describes his death as due to poison.

The following authors tell us how much we should believe in him.

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68. Gottlob, Aus der Camera Apostolica, s. 149, n. 5.

69. Vienna, Filiale des K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchivs, Cod. 987.

70. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. LXVI.

71. Ranke, Zur Kritik, s. 98.

72. Schrödl, ap. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Jovius ; Cantu, Histoire Univers., Liv. XV, p. 370, assigns 1494 as the year of his birth and 1547 as the one of his death.

73. Quo nemo principum ea tempestate atrocior fuit : Histor. sui temporis, Lib. IV, p. 137.

" For the impartiality of a historian, Jovius cared little ", Schrödl says [74].

" His writings are of little historical value and the learned never attached much importance to his histories " [75].

" Paul Jove is the lying gazeteer of his epoch. Venal to excess, he can write but panegyrics and diatribes " [76].

" Giovio lied at times in favor of those who paid him, he belied also those who did not pay ; nay, he lied for the pleasure of telling falsehoods " [77].

Ranke states [78] that in the writings of Bayle and Tiraboschi [79] one can see how many call him a liar and a flatterer, how they attribute to him two pens : one of gold for those who do pay him, and one of iron for such as do not ; and how they deny him any veracity or credibility.

RAPHAEL BRANDOLINUS LIPPUS.

Born in Florence during the second half of the XVth century, Lippus settled in Rome in the year 1495. Although blind from the time of his birth, he became a prominent Renaissance Latinist, and was honored by pope Alexander VI, who admitted him one day to deliver an oration before himself and the Sacred College [80].

Since he was an admirer of the paganized Jo. Jovianus Pontano, whom he addressed as " mortalium omnium disertissime " [81] and was in friendly relations with Actius Sincerus Sannazaro, we cannot expect him to be grateful or even impartial towards the Christian Pontiff. He does not in-

74. Kirchenlexicon, ubi supra.
75. Bayle ap. Cerri, Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 33.
76. Cantu, Histoire Univers., ubi supra.
77. Leonii, Vita di Bartolom. d'Alviano, p. 7.
78. Zur Kritik Neuerer Geschichtschr., s. 71.
79. Storia della Letteratura Italiana, vol. VII, p. 803, Edit. 1812.
80. Römische Quartalschrift, Bd. II, s. 175.
81. Bibl. Vatic. Lat., Cod. 3460, fo 28vo.

criminate him of immorality, but holds him responsible for the mysterious death of the Manfredi in Rome [82]. He could not be a " testis fide dignus ", as the Quartalschrift calls him.

NICHOLAS MACHIAVELLI.

We shall not speak of the debated morality of Machiavelli's " Il Principe " and other writings, which were first placed on the Index of forbidden books a hundred years after their publication.

The Florentine republic was opposed to the politics of Alexander VI, and Machiavelli, its official, was a most violent enemy of that Pope [83], and of his Captain, Cesar de Borgia, whom he wished to defeat by starvation ; for, while enjoying the immunities of a legate at Cesar's camp, after describing the scarcity of food in Imola, he warned the Seigniory of Florence to see to it that no grain should pass over its territory to the relief of the distressed papal city [84].

The opuscule, la " Descrizione del modo tenuto dal Duca Valentino nel ammazzare Vitellozzo Vitelli, etc. " is published as taken from an official letter of Machiavelli ; but it differs in several details from the dispatch alluded to. It is evidently a later composition, made for the purpose of disgracing the duke of Valentinois. It comprises the events not only of a day, as generally does an envoy's dispatch, but the space of several months. Its very introduction, mentioning the " calumnies " of the Florentines against Cesar, excludes the authorship of Machiavelli.

If pope Alexander VI had been truly known as an unchaste man, it would be remarkable that Machiavelli, who does not

82. Ibid., f° 16vo.
83. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 548.
84. Legaz. al Duca Valent., Imolae die 16 Nov. 1502, Opere, vol. V, p. 305.

spare his reputation, nowhere describes him as such a wretch [85].

RAPHAEL MAFFEI OF VOLTERRA.

Raphael of Volterra, who was born in the year 1451 and died in 1522, was a papal secretary under several Popes. His principal work in the " Commentariorum Urbanorum Libri XXXVIIII ", sometimes called " Vitae Paparum ", and oftener " Anthropologia ", from its part that gives the history of Popes and great men. It was printed in various countries.

It is easily noticed that Raphael wrote of Alexander VI at the time when it was fashionable to blame that Pontiff. He mentions the natural talents and many of the Pope's great qualities ; but asserts that his virtues were equaled by his vices, which, from Raphael's own description [86], were but excusable frailties.

The writer shares in the hatred of the princes of the Pontifical States ; and, to justify them, misrepresents the details of the wars waged against them, and charges the whole of pope Alexander's career with injustice and various crimes. It may suffice to remark that he dedicated his book to pope Julius II, who had been cardinal Giuliano della Rovere [87].

DOMINIC MALIPIERO.

The Chronicle of the Venetian senator Domenico Malipiero, or " Annali Veneti dall' anno 1457 al 1500 ", has been published in 1843, in the " Archivio Storico Italiano ". Ser. I, Vol. VII.

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85. Leonetti, Papa Alessandro VI, vol. III, P. 471.
86. Lib. XXII, p. 262 or 263.
87. Cfr. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Maffei, Raffaele.

The original text does not exist since about the year 1580, when it was abridged and its material rearranged by Francesco Longo who died in 1584 [88]. The work has necessarily lost in authority and historical value by this comparatively late transformation. Yet, it is confidently quoted and mentioned by many later historians, although Malipiero is not a little partial to his dear republic, and reversely unjust to other powers ; as when he relates that all the princes of Christianity, the Pope hardly excepted, conspired with the Turks for the ruin of Venice. His hostility to pope Alexander VI corresponds with his Seigniory's ambition to share in that Pontiff's power, both temporal and spiritual, and he is consequently led to make many statements proved to be historically false. His superstitious credulity casts, moreover, a blemish upon his work, as when he seriously relates that, in January, 1496, there was found on the banks of the Tiber in Rome, a portentous monster, having the head and ears of a donkey, the body of a human female, its various members being parts of an ox, a snake, an elephant, an eagle and of a fish, and wearing on its back the visage of an old man. He ventures to add that all those details are given by a letter of the ambassador to the Seigniory [89].

PETER MARTYR

was born at Anghiera or Arona in the duchy of Milan [90] in the year 1455, and in 1487 he left Italy for Spain, where he died in 1526 [91]. His principal work, known as " Opus Epistolarum ", is a Renaissance Latin composition, and was for a

88. Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. XXI.

89. Arch. Stor. Ital., ser. I, t. VII, P. I, p. 422.

90. Hence his occasional signature of P. M. A. M.

91. Gams, in Wetzer und Welte Lexicon; Esser, in Kirchenlexicon; Mariéjol, Pierre Martyr, p. 167.

long time held as a source of History, but it is considered to-day as being of little historical value [92].

Most of his letters treat of contemporary events that took place in Italy, and to which he could not testify, being at a great distance from the scene of action. He had to rely on the vague rumors that happened to cross the seas, as he states himself : " Ad aurem sussuro quidam insonuit mihi ". As a consequence, he asserts many things that are now well proved to be false, as, for instance, pope Alexander's shameless ostentation of illegitimate children [93] and his death from poison [94].

Martyr, a friend and admirer of the pagan Pomponius Laetus, manifests his hatred towards pope Alexander VI as often as he mentions his name.

Balan supposes [95] the dates of his letter 144, and of many others, the correctness of which he doubts, to have been affixed at the time that these letters were coordinated and corrected. So Gregorovius also asserts that Martyr's letters on the Pontiff's nepotism have afterwards been worked over again [96], and Thuasne similarly affirms [97] that Peter Martyr recorrected his letters later on, a fact, which Ranke undertook to prove. The revisions of the various parts of the " Opus Epistolarum " were thus made " afterwards ", i. e. after the death of Alexander VI ; and we venture to suspect that Martyr did not commence his Epistles before having heard the echo of the accusations first brought against the Pope by the chastised and revengeful tyrants of the Pontifical States. As an argument for our opinion, that Peter Martyr was but one of the score of vilifiers of pope Alexander VI and wrote,

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92. Kirchenlexicon, Petrus Martyr.
93. His Epist. CXVII, ap. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 10.
94. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 471.
95. Storia d'Italia, vol. V, p. 338.
96. Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 322, n. 2.
97. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 10.

after the year 1503, we may set forth one of his first letters, wherein he mentions already the main charges then made against that Pope : " the shameful and sacrilegious means of his simoniacal election, his cupidity and ambition, his insane love for his pretended children; and, as consequences, the danger of Christianity and the disturbances of Italy "— that is of its petty tyrants. The letter is dated the 19th of July, " XIV Calendas Augusti ", 1492, when no one knew or thought of the future election of cardinal de Borgia to the Supreme Pontificate. In fact, Martyr, to judge from his dates, is not a historian, but a prophet. He likewise narrates the assassination of Giovanni de Borgia, in April, 1497 [98], although this duke of Gandia was murdered only two months later. Sometimes, on the contrary, he reports, as news, events that took place so long before, that they could not, any more, form the subject of a letter ; as when he announces in July, 1498 [99], that he had learned from Naples that king Ferdinand II had died and was succeeded by his uncle, Frederic ; whereas these events took place a full year previous to the date mentioned [100].

Denying the authority attributed to Peter Martyr, Ranke puts the question : " Shall he be an unimpeachable witness, the one who commits grave errors and is, moreover, neither chaste nor reserved in his incriminations ? "

FRANCIS MATARAZZO.

The " Cronica della città di Perugia, dal 1492 al 1503, published in the " Archivio Storico Italiano ", T. XVI, P. II, in the year 1851, is generally, but without certainty, attributed to a certain Francis Matarazzo [101], undoubtedly a Perugian,

98. Epist. 173.
99. Epist. 196.
100. Ranke, Zur Kritik.
101. de l'Epinois, ap. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXIX, p. 406, n. 3.

who filled the dark sack of his Chronicle with the daily news of his city and the hearsay from abroad, gathering indiscriminately, and by preference, whatever he heard of impure and defamatory stories.

His writing, long neglected, is justly called a libel and a mixture of some truthful incidents and of evident falsehood and slander [102]. Symonds notices [103] that Matarazzo's sympathy with the house of the Baglioni is striking, and that he exults in the distinction they conferred upon Perugia. It is no wonder, therefore, if he belied a Pontiff, who, through his Captain, Cesar de Borgia, expelled from that city Giovanni Baglioni, who disgraced it by his unnatural lewdness and terrorized it by his cruel ambition. When defending Lucretia de Borgia against Matarazzo's vilest report, Gregorovius declares that he is of no authority [104].

JASON DE MAYNO.

At the solemn obeisance of the duke of Milan to the new pope, Alexander VI, Jason de Mayno, pronounced a classical discourse, which is preserved in Rome at the Bibliotheca Vittorio Emmanuele, Cod. Sessoriano 314, f° 148, seq. [105], and which was immediately printed several times and acquired by the most prominent persons of Italy [106].

The oration is a grand encomium of the qualities of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, of his public acts and of his manner of life. Common decency would have prevented de Mayno from making such a panegyric, if the cardinal had ever been the profligate who he is represented to have been by his later enemies ; for he was speaking before the members of the

102. Ibidem, pp. 388, 399.
103. Renaissance in Italy, p. 118.
104. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 181.
105. Cfr. Jerome Porcius, Commentarium, Rome, Bibliotheca Barberin., Cod. B. B. B. I, 13. Mediolanensium obedientia.
106. See Document 93b.

Sacred College, the prelates of the palace and the ambassadors of princely courts, that is, to a select audience long since intimately acquainted with the new Pope.

His accumulation of the highest praises on his whole previous life, without any excuse of, or hint at, his pretended scandalous past, could not but have exposed de Mayno to the scorn and protest of his hearers, among whom were some diplomats at least, who had opposed his election. The eulogy of his virtues and of his constantly fitting himself for the office of the Supreme Apostolate would actually have been a stinging reproach cast at the Pontiff, and the speaker's daring flattery would have brought censure and disgrace, rather than the plaudits which were universally lavished upon him. The immorality and other depravities, afterwards imputed to Roderic de Borgia, were, it seems, unknown at this time.

JACOPO NARDI

was born in Florence on the 21st of July, 1476. In the year 1501, he was one of the Magnificent Lords " Priori di Libertà " ; but in 1530 he was expelled from his native city by the reinstated de' Medici, and, soon after, he was exiled to Leghorn [107]. He composed the " Istorie della città di Firenze ", published repeatedly.

His honorable positions secured him a perfect knowledge of facts, and he wrote a truthful history of the vicissitudes of the Florentine republic from 1492 to 1531 [108]. At times, however, he manifested his natural bias for his popular government against pope Alexander VI, whose policy favored the Medicean domination.

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107. Nardi, Istorie della Città di Firenze, Introd., pp. XXVI, XXXVI.

108. Cantu, Hist. Univers., vol. XIII, p. 365.

ONUPHRIUS PANVINIUS.

Born in the year 1529 and dying in 1568, Panvinius, whose "Epitome Vitarum Pontificum Romanorum" was first printed at Venice in 1557 [109], is no personal witness to the history of pope Alexander VI. What he tells of him is necessarily copied from older writers; and he has, unfortunately, derived his information from that Pontiff's bitter enemies and revilers, whose statements were yet in vogue at his time. He has thus repeated and spread the most outrageous calumnies against the maligned Pope, as, for instance, when he accuses him of having been elected by cardinals as vicious and immoral as himself, or corrupted by his money and promises of rich benefices and remunerative prelacies. And then he asserts that, when chosen, he ungratefully punished them all, some with imprisonment and others with exile [110]. He further writes that Cesar de Borgia murdered his brother Giovanni, with the consent of their common father, the Pope (!).

We here mention the non-contemporary Panvinius, because of his great influence on Raynaldi and many more historians for three centuries; but his defamatory mistakes have, of late years, been corrected, one after another, and his former authority is lost.

A CONTINUATION OF PLATINA'S.

"De Vita et Moribus Summorum Pontificum Historia".

This continuation was made during the life of pope Alexander VI, as appears from the fact that it does not speak of his last actions or death.

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109. Kirchenlexicon, Art. Panvinius.

110. Raynaldi, Eccles. ad an. 1492, no. XXVI.

The writer is strongly biased in favor of king Charles VIII, whose invasion of Italy and of Rome, in particular, covers the latter half of his story ; but he cannot help speaking well of the Pontiff. He reports his origin from the family de Borgia, his proficiency above all his fellow students in philosophy and theological sciences. He relates how he kept at a distance all flatterers, how he deprecated war among the Christian princes, and urged them to combine and free Europe of the danger from the Turks.

To quote his original words, he states that he was " Monendo dulcis, arguendo acer, literatorum alter Mecaenas ; quem oscitantem raro comperit quisquam, quin aut libris legendis, aut divino cultui, aut rei Christiane semper attentus esset, temporis jactura nihil perniciosius existimans. Ob singularem ipsius virtutem juvenili evo cardinalis efficitur, et vicecancellarii magistratu donatur ; cujus provinciam ad sui suorumque decus ac gloriam exactius peragens, tantam omnium benevolentiam nactus est, ut omnium applausu pontificatus munere insignitus fuerit, postquam XL annos non parva cum laude Vicecancellariatus molem sustulit ".

When all this was written, the rebellious tyrants of the Church domain had not as yet been chastised, nor, as a consequence, were there any slanders against the Pontiff to be mentioned.

The full text of this " Continuation " is to be found in Leonetti's Papa Allessandro VI, Vol. III, p. 517, and in " Les Borgia " of Clément de Vebron, p. 555.

JOHANNES PONTANO.

Pontano was born in A. D. 1426 and died in 1503. He passed his life in Naples, where he was made a secretary of king Ferdinand, and commenced the " Academia Pontania-

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

na ", a society of so-called learned admirers of pagan antiquity ; in honor of which he discarded his Christian name, Johannes, and adopted the pagan one of Jovianus or Jovius [111]. He had a right to do so, after he had ridiculed and assailed the Christian religion and its Supreme Pontiffs [112].

As a docile disciple of Beccadelli, he wrote, even in his old age, poetry, in which he imitated all the lewdness of late pagan writers of Rome and exhibited sometimes the most repulsive cynicism [113].

Pontano had special grounds to hate pope Alexander VI, who had been instrumental in the loss of the kingdom of Naples to the dynasty of Aragon, of which he had been a favorite. In his foul writings, driven by his passion, he accused that Pontiff of the most enormous crimes and the most shameful vices [114].

Already Paul Jove notices that his historic writings deviate from the rules to be observed by a historian and are lacking of integrity, that is, of impartiality and truth [115].

Gregorovius rejects him as a competent witness against the Borgias, because, always absent from Rome, he could not testify about them ; and he adds that his and Sannazaro's epigrams prove nothing but their hatred against pope Alexander and Cesar de Borgia ; but teach us how little confidence we can place in malicious men as they were [116].

Hatred and a witticism are reasons enough for them, Ranke remarks [117], namely, for Pontano and Sannazaro, to denigrate any person.

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111. Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, passim ; Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 10 ; Mariana, Histoire d'Espagne, t. V, p. 404.

112. One of his pamphlets was: " de Potestate Ecclesiae Universalis super Papam Exhortatio ", and another : " Questio an ad Depositionem Papae incorrigibilis procedi possit " : Vienna, K. u. K. Bibliothek, Cod. 4943, fo 95b.

113. Pastor, ubi supra.

114. Mariana, Hist. d'Espagne, t V, p. 404.

115. Elogia doctorum Virorum, p. 60.

116. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 179.

117. Zur Kritik, s. 28.

HIERONYMUS PORCIUS.

Jerome Porcius or Porcarius was a Roman patrician, who was born and lived in Rome during the cardinalate and the pontificate of pope Alexander VI. In his " Commentarium " he is styled a presiding Judge, " primarius Auditor ", of the highest Roman tribunal, of the Sacra Rota ; a teacher of Civil and Canon Law and a Canon of St. Peter's basilica [118].

On the 26th of August, 1492, he received " in commendam " SS. Peter's and Paul's Premonstratentian abbey of Grimbergen, in Belgium [119]. On the 14th of January and the 3d of February, 1493, he obtained more benefices [120]. That he was living a good life may be concluded from the fact that, in the year 1497, he was in possession of the diocese of Andri in Apulia [121].

Porcius wrote a dialogue against Savonarola's false doctrine on papal authority, proving, as Gregorovius slightingly says [122], the opinion of the Infallibilists (!): that a Christian must implicitly obey the Pope. His best known work is the Porcian commentary, wherein he reports the election of cardinal de Borgia, and his coronation as Pope ; and makes large extracts from the orations pronounced at the solemn obeisances of the Italian princes to the new Pontiff. This writing is preserved by a copy in the Roman Barberini Library ; Codex B. B. B. I. 13, not paginated. It was printed in Rome in the year 1493 [123].

No contemporary author could be more reliable than Porcius ; for he was an eyewitness of what he relates, and

118. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. B. B. B. I, 13.
119. Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bullar., an. I, t. II, fo 240vo.
120. Ibid., an. I, II, t. IX, fo 39vo.
121. Burchard, Diar., t. II, p. 349.
122. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 127.
123. Impressum Romae per Eucharium Silber alias Frank natione Alemanum: Ab anno nostrae salutis MCCCCXCIII die vero Jovis XVIII mensis Septembris, as it is recorded on the last page.

no objection can be made against his veracity. Should he have transgressed the law of truthfulness, how could he have made bold to call forth the criticisms of his contemporaries, witnesses like himself, by printing in his introductory letter to the Pontiff that " he does not flatter, nor has so far [124] told any untruth, that he shall report, no matter what may happen, nor shall he write any falsehood on any single page " [125].

Gregorovius, unaccustomed to hear the praises of cardinal Roderic de Borgia, blames Porcius for excessive court flattery, but does not accuse him of untruth [126]. Neither do we remember having found any of his statements to be contested by the enemies of pope Alexander VI, who, as a rule, neglect or ignore this important witness.

SANNAZARO.

Nearly all the remarks made about Pontano are similarly applicable to Sannazaro, who also was a resident of Naples, ignorant of what happened in Rome ; who also was a member of the paganized Academia Pontaniana, and changed his baptismal name into the pagan designation of " Actius Sincerus ". He assailed the Christian doctrine in his work " Eremita " [127], and, not only accused pope Alexander VI but also insulted Leo X [128].

Sannazaro did not, like Pontano, publicly revile his benefactors, on the day that Charles VIII proclaimed himself king

124. He intended to write the future history of that Pope : Ipsius pontificatus seriem prosequemur, he says.

125. Rome, Bibl. Barberini, Cod. B. B. B. I, 13.

126. Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 127.

127. Pastor, Gesch. der Päpste, Bd. III, s. 102.

128. Vienna, K. u. K. Bibliothek, Cod. 9977, f° 72 :

Sumere maternis nomen cum posset ab Ursis
Caeculus hic noster maluit esse leo.
Quid tibi cum magno commune est, talpa, leone ?

of Naples ; but, a faithless and venal poet, he also sang the praises of the French conqueror, at first [129] and, soon after, he ridiculed his attempt at a second invasion of Italy [130].

Like Pontano, he sufficiently remained a Neapolitan patriot to resent the lost autonomy of that kingdom, and to swear an implacable hatred against the Pontiff who had partitioned it between the French and the Spanish kings [131]. Like Pontano, he charged pope Alexander VI with all possible crimes ; but his scandalous incriminations did not make any deeper impression, than those of the former, on serious historians [132].

MARIN SANUTO.

The writing called the Diary of Sanuto is a manuscript of fifty-eight volumes in folio, commencing with the year 1496 and finishing with 1533. The original is preserved in Vienna and a beautiful copy is kept in Venice [133].

The reliability and authority of this work have, until late, been exaggerated, as " the richest and most important mine of historical facts and documents " of the period in question [134]. Sanuto may have had access to all the Venetian papers of State, but he cannot be quoted as an actual witness,

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129. Vienna, ibid., f° 195 :
Rex salve cui cuncta favent coe- [lestia divum
Numina, et aequoree candida tur- [ba deae :
En bene mortales eadem coeles- [tia curant.
Terra parum fuerat, iam domina- [ris aquis.
His ergo auspiciis Seres supera- [bis et Indos !

130. Ibid., f° 194 :
Incidit ut vires iterum tentare [priores
Vellet in Ausonios Gallia stulta [viros...

131. Gilbert, Lucr. Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara, vol. I, p. 24 ; Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 405 ; Groene, Papstgesch., Bd. II, s. 312.

132. Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I, s. 179 ; Ranke, Zur Kritik, s. 28 ; Yriarte, Les Borgia, t. II, p. 14.

133. Armand Baschet, La Diplomatie Vénitienne, p. 161 ; Leonetti, Pape Alessandro VI, vol. III, p. 493 ; Matagne, ap. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XI, p. 185.

134. Tom. Gar, Albèri, Relazioni, ser. 3, vol. III, p. II ; Matagne, ubi supra.

except of what he may have seen in the city of Venice. He did not jot down, day after day, as Matagne pretends [135], the Roman events and transactions of the time of Alexander VI ; but, like an ordinary historian, he studied or copied the biased testimonies of other Venetian officials. Sanuto was a patriotic Senator, who wrote " for the honor of his country " [136] ; and it was but natural for him to readily admit into his Journal whatever blame he could find in dispatches of ambassadors and in other official papers, against pope Alexander VI, who curbed the ambition of the Venetian Senate and whose relations with them were in a strained condition most of the time.

Neither can we fully rely on his sound judgment, after we have seen him given to foolish superstition, and relating that, in the year 1498, " were heard in the Vatican palace the cries of the spirit of the duke of Gandia, in fear of which the Pope retired to the castle of Sant' Angelo " [137]. Sanuto makes himself more ridiculous yet, by seriously describing the visit of the devil, who had come to claim the soul of pope Alexander, which that Pope had pledged to him for the pontifical tiara ! Sanuto says : " The devil jumped out of the Pope's room in the shape of a monkey, " Babuino ". A cardinal ran to catch it, and after he got it, wanted to give it to the Pope ; but the Pope said : " Let it alone, let it alone, it is the devil " [138].

What deserves more a historian's attention is the inaccuracy of the diarist in his reports of human affairs. Cantu states that his history of Charles VIII's Invasion of Italy is not reliable [139] ; and Sismondi observes that, in spite of the detail-

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135. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XI, p. 185.

136. Armand Baschet, ubi supra, p. 163 ; Cantu, Histoire Univers., Liv. XV, Ch. XII, vol. XIV, p. 368.

137. Gregorovius, Gesch. der Stadt Rom, Bd. VII, s. 408 ; Sanuto, Diar., vol. I, f° 623.

138. Sanuto, Diar., vol. V, f° 124, ap. Leonetti, vol. III, p. 494.

139. Diarii di Marin Sanudo, p. 5.

ed official description of pope Alexander's sickness and natural death, by the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, Sanuto prefers to listen to the false rumor of that Pontiff's end by poison. So can several of his statements be proved to be unhistorical. The compilation of the Venetian Marino Sanuto is a mixture of gossip, fable, fact and fiction [140].

HARTMAN SCHEDEL.

Schedel wrote the " Chronicarum Liber " printed at Nuremberg, in the year 1493. He is a learned German, who happened to be in Rome at the time of cardinal Roderic de Borgia's election to the papacy. He has left us not only some very interesting details of this event, but also, as he had learned it from the mouth of the Romans, a sketch of that cardinal's history, relating his true family name and extraction from the Borgia house, his successes as a student, his offices as a cardinal, and his remarkable qualities and virtues that moved his colleagues to select him, by common accord, for the honors and duties of the supreme pontificate [141]. Of Roderic de Borgia's pretended immorality and other vices he had not heard a word.

It is no wonder if the enemies of pope Alexander VI ignore this simple and candid writer ; although he seems to have had no reason to pervert historical truth in order to praise a new Pope, apparently a stranger to him. Nor would Schedel, if not aware of the correctness of his statements, have invited the criticism of the public, by publishing them at once.

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140. H. A. Brann, ap. Catholic World Magazine, vol. XLIV, p. 3; Ref. to Albèri, Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti.

141. See Document 224.

GIOVANNI STELLA.

On the last page of a rare book : " Vitae ducentorum et triginta summorum pontificum a beato Petro usque ad Julium secundum modernum Pontificem " is printed the remark : " Joannis Stelle, Sacerd. Veneti opus de vitis pontificum summorum, cum diligentia revisum atque correctum... ac Impressum Venetia per Bernardinum venetum de Vitalibus. Anno a salute christiana 1505, x. Kl. februarias.

The author, therefore, of this History is a Venetian, not unlikely the same who is named Giovanni Pietro Stella by Paolo Cappello, Venetian envoy in Rome, who mentions him as his secretary.

Knowing the strained relations of Venice with pope Alexander VI and the time of the publication, we might have expected a biography replete with incriminations against that Pontiff ; but Stella has refused to record the slanders and invectives that were bursting forth at the time ; and, although he once applies, yet without any intimation of blame, the popular designation of " his son " and of " his daughter " to Cesar and to Lucretia de Borgia, and attributes his death to poison, he has left us a very commendable memorial of pope Alexander VI.

Stella's Life of Alexander VI is copied by Clément de Vebron, Les Borgia, p. 558, and by Leonetti, Alessandro VI, Vol. III, p. 523.

TOMASO TOMASI

is the pseudonym of Gregorio Leti [142], under which he wrote the " Vita del Duca Valentino ", a short time after Cesar de Borgia's death. The reading of a few passages of this work

142. von Reumont in Archiv. Stor. Ital., ser. 3, vol. XVII, p. 321 and Gesch. der Stadt Rom. Bd. IV, s. 20.

convinces us that Tomasi did not intend to write a history, but to revile the whole family of the Borgias. The Encyclopedia Britannica [143] states that the uncritical histories of Tomasi and of Gordon [144] are indebted to Burcardus for any value they possess. Cerri [145] says : We do not speak of Tomasi and of Gordon, because we think them to be unworthy of criticism; and Leonetti blames de l'Epinois [146], for invoking Tomasi as an authority, which, he says, is done by no other serious historian.

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143. Art. Alexander V.
144. The latter did little more than copy the former.
145. Borgia ossia Alessandro VI, vol. I, p. 34.
146. Rev. des Quest. Histor., t. XXX, p. 537.

DOCUMENTS
AND
EXTRACTS

DOCUMENT 193.

Pope Alexander VI allows certain tithes of church revenues to the Spanish kings.

Alexander etc. Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Ferdinando Regi et Carissimae in Christo filiae nostrae Elisabeth Reginae Castellae et Legionis Illustribus Salutem... Dudum siquidem pro parte vestra nobis exposito quod diversi Romani Pontifices predecessores nostri provide considerantes quot et quanta ipsi progenitores vestri pro recuperatione diversorum regnorum ab infidelium manibus non sine magnis laboribus et expensis ac Christiani sanguinis effusione fecerant, eisdem progenitoribus eorumque successoribus ut certas partes decimarum, tertias nuncupatas in Castellae et Legionis regnis pro impensis pro dicti Regni Granatae recuperatione faciendis percipere et levare possint per diversas eorum literas concesserunt. Nos vestris in ea parte supplicationibus inclinati concessiones et literas praedictas ac omnia et singula in eis contenta approbavimus ac perpetuae firmitatis robur obtinere decrevimus, nec non illas juxta illarum continentiam et tenorem ad ipsum Regnum Granatae in perpetuum extendimus et ampliamus, prout in nostris literis praedictis plenius continetur. Cum autem sicut accepimus licet vos dictum regnum Granatae ab ipsorum infidelium manibus recuperaveritis, tamen pro custodia civitatum praedictarum et aliorum locorum et oppidorum Regni Granatae hujusmodi in littore maris consistentium, quae munitissima existunt et in confinibus Affricae sunt constituta de necessitate gravissimas impensas continue perferre habeatis, ac in dicta recuperatione et tam diuturni belli prosecutione gravissima debita contraxeritis, intendatisque divina assistente gratia etiam in futurum contra alios infideles pro fide Christi ac divini nominis gloria et exaltatione pugnare, Nos, Motu proprio... Vobis ac Successoribus praefatis ut dictas tertias deinceps futuris perpetuis temporibus prout hactenus percepistis in Regnis praedictis etiam Granatae percipere et levare libere et licite valeatis, auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium de specialis dono gratiae indulgemus. Non obstantibus... Nulli ergo... Si quis... Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum

Anno etc. Millesimo quadringentesimo Nonagesimo quarto Idibus Februarii Pont. nri. anno tertio.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Copia di Bolle e Brevi d'Aless. VI riguardanti la Spagna, from Alex. VI Secret. Lib. III, f° 203.

DOCUMENT 194.

Pope Alexander VI confirms the possessions and privileges of the Knights of St. John, and orders restored what they have unjustly lost.

Alexander etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Cum debita (medi) tatione pensamus quod inter precipua presidia et defensiones contra inimicos orthodoxe fidei Religio hospitalis S. Johannis Ierosolimitani antemurale et continuum propugnaculum ab immemorabili tempore citra semper extitit et quod pro ejusdem fidei conservatione tutela et agumento religionis viros decoros et propugnatores acerrimos necnon in temporalibus providos ac spiritualibus circumspectos continuo produxit et producit, circa illius statum eo perspicacius aciem nostre mentis intendimus illiusque prosperitatem eo desiderabilius affectamus quo per eandem religionem universali ecclesie succurritur ipsiusque personas Christi athletas magnis periculis subiacere oculis intuemur nostre mentis digne igitur ad ea libenter intendimus per que illius status prosperitas ejusque famosi nominis in nullo valeat obnubilari serenitas sed auctore Domino felicibus semper proficiat incrementis, et hiis que propterea provide processisse comperimus ut firmius illibata persistant nostri adiicimus muniminis firmitatem, hac igitur consideratione inducti nos qui dicte religionis dum cardinalatus fungebamur officio speciali dilectione prosequimur et gerimus in visceribus caritatis, motu proprio non ad illius professorum vel alterius pro eis nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam sed de nostra mera deliberatione omnia et singula privilegia gratias concessiones indulgentias libertates et indulta a predecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus dicte religioni et illius hospitali prioratibus bavilivis castellanie emposte preceptoriis ac membris ejusdemque hospitalis magistro et conventui Rodi ac prioratus bavilivas castellaniam preceptorias et membra predicta

obtinentibus concessa necnon libertates et exentiones secularium exactionum a regibus et principibus ac aliis Christi fidelibus per eos obtenta necnon decimas primitias census fructus redditus et proventus agros possessiones dominia predia jura jurisdictiones aliaque mobilia et immobilia bona ad hospitale prioratus bavilivas castellaniam emposte preceptorias et membra husjusmodi legitime spectantia auctoritate apostolica presentium tenore approbamus et confirmamus ac presentis scripti patrocinio communimus supplemusque omnes et singulos defectus si qui forsan intervenerint in eisdem, mandamus quoque eisdem magistro conventui prioribus bavilivis castellano emposte preceptoribus et fratribus dicte religionis nunc et pro tempore existentibus in virtute sancte obedientie et sub pena excommunicationis ut omnia et singula bona immobilia ad hospitale prioratus bavilivas preceptorias et membra hujusmodi legitime spectantia que per eos aut eorum in hospitali prioratibus bavilivis castellania preceptoriis et membris predecessores aut procuratores nuntios et negociorum gestores eorumdem venditionis permutationis concessionis in emphiteosim perpetue vel temporalis locationis vel alterius concessionis titulo male alienata vel destructa forent ad jus et proprietatem hospitalis prioratuum bavilivarum castellanie preceptoriarum et membrorum predictorum quorum erant ante destructiones et alienationes eorum prout ad eos respective pertinet reducere oportuna diligentia et solicitudine omni excusatione postposita procurent prout juxta Eugenii pape IIII et aliorum predecessorum nostrorum ordinationes seu litteras etiam facere tenentur et debent. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac omnibus illis que predecessores prefati in eorum litteris voluerunt non obstare ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Et quia difficile foret presentes litteras ad singula loca deferre volumus et apostolica auctoritate decernimus quod earum transumpto manu alicujus publici notarii subscripto et sigillo alicujus curie episcopalis aut alicujus persone ecclesiastice in dignitate constitute munito in judicio stetur et extra et tanta fides adhibeatur quanta ipsis litteris originalibus adhiberetur si ille exhibite vel ostense forent. Nulli ergo etc, nostre approbationis confirmationis communitionis suppletionis mandati voluntatis et constitutionis infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome

apud sanctum Petrum anno etc. MCCCCLXXXXIIII pridie Kalendas Julii pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Bulla. An. I, II, III, t. XIII. Regest. 784, f° 190.

DOCUMENT 195.

The Pontiff orders processions and encourages donations against the Turks all over Germany.

Venerabili Fratri Ep° Constantien.

Alexander PP. VI... He commends the Confraternity of St. George — Nos cupientes ut tam sanctum et pernecessarium opus, divina assistente gratia et ejus implorato auxilio, felicem exitum consequatur, Fraternitatem tuam hortamur atque attente monemus in Dno. ut omni debita diligentia facias et procures quod in singulis quatuor diebus dominicis, post primam presentationem harum literarum nrarum, tibi factam, immediate et succesive infra quadraginta dies, sequentibus, in maiori Constantien. ac singulis aliis ecclijs. parrochialibus, ac etiam regularibus tuarum Civitatis et Dioc. omnes et singuli tam ecclesiastici quam seculares utriusque sexus Christi fideles, septimum sue etatis annum excedentes, in unum convenientes, unam solemnem processionem, cum omni debita reverentia et devotione ac divini inibi officii decantatione celebrent, divinam misericordiam ejusque auxilium contra ipsos perfidos Turchos, qui in sua feritate confidunt, implorando ; prefatos Christi fideles ad sua pia suffragia ad hoc tam sanctum tamque pernecessarium opus elargienda tuis salutaribus monitis inducendo. Et ut oblationes seu pecunie, que ab illis fidelibus erogabuntur, in ipsum opus omnino convertantur, in qualibet ecclia. aliquem trunchum, duabus aut tribus clavibus clausum, in quo omnes oblationes reponantur, ordines, ac completis officiis et processionibus hujusmodi, a Prelato sive Rectore cuiuslibet ecclie., assistentibus sibi duabus aut tribus aliis personis secularibus bone et timorate conscientie, aperiatur ; et pecuniis ipsis coram publico notario numeratis, tibi absque ulla diminutione et etiam cum publico instrumento assignentur ; tuque illas Capitaneis ad hanc sanctam militiam deputatis, etiam cum simili instrumento realiter et cum effectu assignabis, qui illas in hmoi. defensionis Fidei

et non in aliud opus omnino convertere teneantur, prefato Maximiliano Regi vel deputandis ab eo de illis rationem reddituri. Volentes ac decernentes quod quicumque dolum aut fraudem circa oblationes et pecunias hmoi. directe vel indirecte committere presumpserint excommunicationis sententiam, a qua non nisi a nobis et successoribus nris. Roman. Pontificibus canonice intrantibus, preterquam in mortis articulo constituti et debita satisfactione premissa, absolvi possint, incurrant eo ipso. Non obstantibus... Tu autem in hac re tam sancta et pernecessaria ac immortali Deo accepta, sic te studiosum exhibeas ac diligentem, quod exinde optati succedant fructus quos speramus, tuque preter eterne retributionis premium, nram. et aplice. Sedis benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius consequi merearis. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris Die XV Aprilis Mccccl xxxxiiii. Pont. nri. anno secundo.

B. Floridus.

Vienna, K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staatsarchiv. Oest. 1494. 15 April : Original with red wax seal — Lad. 33, no. 167.

The no 170 of Lad. 33 is a papal brief, alike to the above, « Ven^li fri. Epo. Brixinen », of Brixen.

Then follows the statement that identical letters were sent to « Ven^li fri. Bertholdo archiep^o Maguntin. », of Mainz, « sacri Roman. imperii Principi electori » ; « Ven^li fri. achiep^o Treveren. » of Treves,, « sacri etc. » ; « Archiep^o Magdeburgen. », of Magdeburg ; to the archbishops of

Pragen.,	of Prague,	Minden.,	Minden,
Salzburgen.,	Salzburg,	Brandeburgen.,	Brandeburg,
Vigen.,	Vienne,	Verden.,	Verden,
and to the Bishops of		Lubucen.,	Lubeck,
Wiennen.,	of Vienna,	Osilien.,	Oesel,
Gurcen.,	Gurck,	Monasterien.,	Münster,
Olomucen.,	Olmütz,	Herbipolen.,	Würzburg,
Freysingen.,	Freising,	Spiren.,	Speyer,
Chiemen.,	Chiemse,	Argentinen.,	Strassburg,
Nove Civitatis,	Neustädt,	Culmen.,	Kulm,
Patavien.,	Padua,	Tridentin.,	Trient,
Socovien.,	Seckaw,	Virdunen.,	Verdun,
Laventin.,	Lavant,	Bellicen.,	Bellay,
Tergestinen.,	Trieste,	Lubicen.,	Lübeck,
Revalien.,	Revel,	Razeburgen.,	Ratzburg,

Hyldesemen.,	Hildesheim,	Bremen.,	Bremen,
Uniomen.	Unna,	Leodien.,	Liege,
Padeburnen.,	Paderborn,	Sambien.,	Sambia,
Zwerinen.,	Schwerin,	Augusten.,	Augsburg,
Traiecten.,	Maestricht.	Eystetten.,	Eichstätt,
Basilien.,	Basel,	Sleswicen.,	Sleswick,
Ratisponen..	Ratisbon,	Meten.,	Metz,
Halberstaden.,	Halberstadt,	Havelbergen.,	Havelberg,
Pomeranien.,	Pommern,	Curien.,	Chur,
Sedunen.,	Sedun,	Coronien.,	Kronstadt,
Lausanen.,	Lausanne,	Bambergen.,	Bamberg,
Merseburgen.,	Merseburg,	and to the	Patriarch
Misnen.,	Meissen,	Aquileien,,	of Aquileja.
Osnaburgen.,	Osnabrück,		

DOCUMENT 196.

Indulgences granted and prayers prescribed for the increase and success of the Hungarian and Polish armies.

Alexander etc. Ad futuram rei memoriam. Gradiente dno. super aquas... After relating the baneful progress, the cruelties and sacrileges of the Turks... Nos de eodem dno. nostro Ihesu, exemplo beati Petri confidentes quod suos non deseret in tempore necessitatis, non cessavimus Catholicos reges et principes sepius exhortari et requirere pro reverentia ipsius dni. nri. Ihesu Christi cujus causa agitur, semotis quibusvis discordiis et emulationibus, pacem inter se componentes, ad subversionem et exterminationem Turchorum... insurgerent. Et anno nondum elapso ad obviandum furori dictorum Turchorum qui magnum exercitum terra et mari adversus eosdem christianos preparaverant, hac precipue de causa bone memorie Joannem Sancte Marie in Vialata Diaconum cardinalem tunc in humanis agentem Legatum nostrum de latere ad dilectos filios Nobilem virum Augustinum Barbadico Ducem et dominium Venetorum destinavimus, qui nostro nomine eisdem duci et dominio per nos possibilia in tam pio et necessario opere expeditionis contra prefatos Turchos subsidia offerret. Et quamvis dux et dominium prefati in eodem tam necessario et celeritatem exigente opere etiam voluntarie ac etiam nostris monitionibus et exhortationibus excitati ingentem classem et exercitum adversus dictos

Turchos preparassent et misissent carissimusque in Christo filius noster Ludovicus Francorum Rex Christianissimus et Dilectus filius noster Petrus Sancti Adriani Diaconus cardinalis qui magistratum Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani ex dispensatione apostolica obtinet ac dilecti filii conventus Rhodi hospitalis ejusdem etiam ipsis nostris exhortationibus excitati magnam navium copiam cum armatorum multitudine in subsidium Ducis et Dominii predictorum et ipsius Christiane fidei misissent, tamen forsan dno. propter christifidelium delicta, et ut singuli principes et christifideles quodammodo a somno excitati et ad sancta dei opera intenti vehementius adversus dictos Turchos insurgant permittente, dicti Turci multitudine prevalentes magnam partem classis Christianorum devastarunt et ex hujusmodi victoria in superbiam et elationem adducti, et cognoscentes etiam christifidelium debilitatem et impotentiam, in suaque potentia et ferocitate confidentes ad civitatem Neupacten. munitissimam se contulerunt et illam vi et armis occuparunt ac alia quamplurima mala et damna partibus illis intulerunt. Nos vero... non cessavimus apud carissimos in Christo filios nostros Uladislaum Hungarie et Johannem Albertum Polonie reges illustres nostris exhortationibus instare... ut ipsi... expeditionem contra prefatos Turchos, qui validissimum exercitum terra et mari et in diversis locis adversus ipsos Christianos preparaverunt, susciperent. Nosque eosdem Hungarie et Polonie reges tam aptos quam etiam... voluntarios invenimus, ordinavimusque juxta possibilitatem nostram eisdem regibus pro premissa expeditione subsidium preberi et dari, et etiam prebebimus ac ab aliis preberi faciemus... Verum cupientes etiam providere ut christifideles Regnorum et Dominiorum predictorum regnum et in illis residentes seu quomodolibet habitantes huic expeditioni unacum prefatis regibus et eorum exercitibus vehementius contra dictos Turchos et eorum seviciam et rabiem exardescant et insurgant quo majoribus muneribus et gratiis pro consequendis premiis felicitatis eterne cognoverint se communitos, de Omnipotentis dei misericordia, qui omnes Ipsum invocantes sublevat, et ejusdem petri ac beati pauli etiam apostoli ejus auctoritate confisi omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus vere penitentibus et confessis Regnorum et Dominiorum Regum predictorum... et aliis quibuscumque qui in expeditionem hujusmodi contra prefatos Turchos... per annum inter-

fuerint seu in castris dictorum exercituum aliquod opus ad hujusmodi expeditionem necessarium vel oportunum fecerint, aut victualia et alia necessaria pro subventione pugnantium in dictis castris aut inibi pio opere expeditionis hujusmodi quomodolibet commorantium detulerint, et premissa seu aliquod eorum durante hujusmodi expeditione fecerint, plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum de quibus corde contriti et ore confessi fuerint veniam et remissionem etiam hujus sacri Anni jubilei Centesimi et que proficiscentibus in subsidium terre sancte concedi consuevit et concessa est ac ipsum jubileum per presentes elargimur. Ac... concedimus ut tam predicti quam qui commode ad hujusmodi expeditionem accedere non valentes seu etiam non volentes etiam utriusque sexus Christifideles tam laici quam ecclesiastici etiam religiosi dictorum tamen Regnorum et dominiorum alium vel alios suis expensis secundum suas facultates transmiserint vice sua ad pugnandum, seu alias hujusmodi expeditionem juxta necessitatem et oportunitatem adjuvandum per annum seu ad minus per sex menses in dictis castris militaverint aut aliquod ex dictis operibus peregerint, seu pecuniam propter ea necessariam in locis deputandis ad hoc erogaverint, tam mittentes, etiam si duo, tres seu etiam decem unum solum miserint, quam missi hujusmodi indulgentie et remissionis participes existant... Ac quod omnes et singuli tam seculares quam ecclesiastici etiam religiosi et in quibuscumque ordinibus etiam presbiteratus constituti absque alicujus irregularitatis incursu in subsidium hujus tam sancte et pernecessarie expeditionis et pro ipsius fidei catholice defensione interesse possint. Et... omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus... qui quartam partem... ejus quod in veniendo ad Urbem pro hujusmodi jubileo consequendo verisimiliter exponerent, eidem expeditioni miserint, eadem auctoritate etiam presentium tenore Jubileum et plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem elargimur... Et ut christifideles hujusmodi plenissime indulgentie facilius capaces efficiantur, ipsis et eorum cuilibet ut confessorem ydoneum secularem vel religiosum eligere possint, qui... eos et eorum quemlibet ab omnibus eorum peccatis..., conspirationis in personam vel statum Romani Pontificis seu Sedem predictam, falsitatis literarum supplicationum et commissionum apostolicarum, delationis armorum et aliorum prohibitorum ad partes infidelium, injectionis manuum violentarum in Epos vel

alios prelatos superiores casibus dumtaxat exceptis... absolvere possit... de specialis dono gratie indulgemus. Et quoniam magna est vis orationis que pie et jugiter ad deum funditur, in tantum ut orante Moyse populus Israeliticus victoriam de inimicis reportaret, cessante vero oratione inimici superiores fierent, Omnibus et singulis Epis Archiepiscopis Abbatibus prioribus prepositis et aliis ecclesiarum et monasteriorum Prelatis Conventibus et capitulis, in virtute sancte obedientie, mandamus quatinus cantata in eorum ecclesiis missa solemni Spiritussancti et convocato populo, has nostras literas publicent, et in circuitu ecclesiarum processiones faciant solemnes ac clerum et populum regnorum et dominiorum predictorum moneant et requirant ut per misericordiam dei quam sperant se suscepturos, orationibus instent quantum possunt ut dns. nr. Ihus. Christus populo suo periclitanti subveniat et eum a faucibus draconis satagentis eum devorare eripiat. Nos enim omnibus Christifidelibus qui predictis piis operibus insteterint, in omnibus eorum operibus et actibus in domino benedicimus. Non obstantibus quibuscunque suspensionibus indulgentiarum... Et ut oblationes et suffragia que per ipsos Christifideles ad effectum premisse expeditionis mittentur, bene et diligenter et fideliter conserventur et ad alios quam premissos usus non convertantur, Volumus quod venerabilis frater Gaspar Epus Callien. noster ad reges prefatos Hungarie et Polonie nuntius et commissarius destinatus debite cum consilio Regum predictorum ac aliorum dictorum Regnorum Prelatorum curet providere quo oblationes et suffragia predicta sine ulla prorsus fraude prout melius expedire cognoverit ad hujusmodi effectum recipi conservari et exponi possint, super quo sibi plenam liberam et omnimodam harum serie concedimus facultatem, conscientiam suam super hoc plurimum onerantes. Ceterum quia difficile foret... Nulli ergo... si quis... Datum Rome etc. Anno etc. Millesimo quingentesimo, Undecimo Kl. Junii Pont. nri. anno octavo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret. An. IV ad VIII, Lib. VI, Regest. 872, f° 127.

DOCUMENT 197.

Pope Alexander VI imposes a three years' tithe on the cardinals and on the clergy of the Christian world.

Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam. Quamvis ad amplianda ecclesiarum omnium commoda nostre considerationis intuitum extendamus et pro universorum Christifidelium profectibus nostra semper aspiraverit et aspiret intentio, si tamen contra morem et propositum nostrum calamitosa hujus temporis conditio et seva contra christicolas ingensque perfidissimorum turchorum Christi nominis hostium persecutio nos aliquid innovare compellat, summus et almus ille scrutator cordium intuetur. Angimur stimulis ut ecclesiasticas personas ac alios christifideles quos ab oneribus hactenus relevare, quorumque utilitatem et commoda procurare studuimus, urgente reipublice christiane et orthodoxe fidei defensione gravare oporteat, sperantes indubie quod siquidem eisdem christifidelibus in omnem casum omnemque eventum tota cordis affectione consulimus ac oportunis auxiliis et favoribus providemus, ita ipsi pro defensione vere fidey quam in sacra susceptione baptismatis sponte professi sunt, pro suis et ejusdem reipublice christiane necessitatibus sublevandis non modo libenter sed prono et ardenti animo eorum impendent subsidia suasque extendent dexteras liberales. Cum itaque perfidissimi turchi christi nominis hostes christianum sanguinem sitientes ac omni conatu christianorum terras atque dominia sue tirannidi et spurcissime septe subjicere querentes superiori et presenti annis validissimam classem maritimam maximumque terrestrem exercitum ad expugnandum statum terras atque dominia dilectorum filiorum nobilium virorum Augustini Barbadico ducis et dominii Venetiarum instruxerint diversasque incursiones civitatum effecerint et multa millia animarum abduxerint ac in miserabilem servitutem redegerint villasque et loca plurima igne ferroque vastaverint ac tandem Neapontum civitatem aliaque oppida et loca maritima circum vicina munitissima vi et armis ceperint christianis omnibus etiam ecclesiasticis et religiosis utriusque sexus etiam pontificali dignitate preditis ac pregnantibus cum semivivis corpusculis inibi repertis crudelissime cesis et interfectis et aliis in durissimam servitutem redactis, templis

salvatoris nostri pollutis et dirutis ac suum malum et iniquum propositum continue ferventius prosequentes et nil aliud die noctuque querentes et excogitantes quam omnia christianorum dominia sue tiranidi et spurcissime secte subjicere ac legem christi nostri subvertere, denuo validiorem classem maritimam majoremque terrestrem exercitum instruant ut omnia maritima loca atque portus christianorum occupent pateatque eis deinde facilius ad ro. ecclesie terras et presertim ad hanc almam urbem nostram, in qua petri sedes est collocata et qua, quod deus avertat, expugnata se totius mundi imperium facile occupare posse non dubitant accessus ; Et nisi celeriter occurratur prout res expostulat formidandum est ne ipsi perfidissimi turchi victorie superbia elati videntes catholicos reges et principes ac potentatus inter se dissidentes privatis commodis intentos commune bonum negligere, majora et irreparabilia damna inferant christianis prout jam superioribus annis in diversis terris atque locis germanie hungarie polonie croatie et aliis eis finitimis ac carmo in christo filio nostro Maximiliano Romanorum regi illustri subjectis inferre non cessarunt in maximam divine Majestatis offensam, nostram et catholicorum regum et principum aliorumque christifidelium ignominiam dedecus et jacturam. Nos illius vices gerentes in terris qui pro nostra salute de summo celorum solio ad ima descendens carnem humanam assumere et mortem subire non abnuit, reputantes animo non sine maxima cordis amaritudine quot sacratissime patriarchales metropolitane et cathedrales alie insignes ecclesie pene innumere atque utriusque sexus regularium personarum monasteria cenobia et pia loca profane et deformi curie subjecta, quotque ornamenta cruces et calices aliaque divinis deputata ministeriis confracta et destructa et, quod lamentabilius est, sanctorum veneranda corpora et ipsorum sacre reliquie conculcata ac quot innumeri sexus utriusque christifideles ad damnatam Maumethicam sectam, sub dira servitute, recipiendam compulsi fuerunt, et nisi per catholicos reges et principes tante insanie tantoque furori celeriter occurratur majora indies detrimenta verisimiliter proventura ; Cupientesque pro ejusdem fidey defensione et christianorum salute non solum nostras et Sedis apostolice facultates nostre dispensationi commissas exponere, sed personaliter, prout iam aliquibus catholicis regibus et principibus per diversas nostras literas significavimus, si nobiscum accedere

voluerint, uno cum Sacro Venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sancte romane ecclesie cardinalium collegio, qui se etiam ad id pro eorum piâ in christianam religionem devotione sponte obtulerunt, in hanc sanctissima et pernecessaria expeditione accedere et proprium sanguinem si opus fuerit effundere ; Et quum ad tantam rei molem perferendam nostre et eiusdem romane ecclesie non subpetunt facultates, volentes pro viribus huic sanctissimo operi, ne alia dominia regna provincias civitates et loca christianorum ipsi perfidissimi turci diripiant ac sub tirannide deducant ac continuis bellorum turbinibus affligant quantum nobis ex alto permictitur votive intendere, matura desuper deliberatione prehabita de eiusdem sancte romane ecclesie cardinalium consilio et assensu, unam veram et integram decimam omnium et singulorum fructuum et proventuum secundum veram valuationem annuam ecclesiarum, monasteriorum et aliorum beneficiorum suorum et obventionum quarumlibet etami ratione cappellarum ad eosdem cardinales sic volentes et consentientes provenientium per eos hic in romana curia nec non omnium provintiarum et territoriorum et civitatum eiusdem romane ecclesie ac predicte urbis et eiusdem romane curie officiorum cujuscumque qualitatis, etiam vicecancellarii, majoris penitentiarii et camerarii ac patriarchalium, metropolitan. cathedralium et aliarum ecclesiarum monasteriorum prioratuum prepositurarum prepositatuum dignitatum personatuum administrationum offitiorum canonicatuum et prebendarum aliorumque cum cura et sine cura beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum secularium ac etiam Sancti Benedicti Sancti Augustini Cistercien. Cluniacen. Cartusien. Camaldulen. Montis Oliveti humiliatorum premonstratensium vallis humbrose cruciferorum monachorum heremitarum sancti Geronimi et aliorum quorumvis ordinum tam virorum quam mulierum etiam mendicantium ex privilegio vel alias certos redditus habentium, regulariumque militiarum videlicet Sancti Jacobi de Spata, de calatrava, de alcantara, de montesia, Ihesu Christi, de Avis, Beate Marie teotonicorum et aliarum quarumcumque, etiam quarum redditus ad hospitalem deputati forent, per universum orbem consistentium offitiorum videlicet a legatis vicecancellario majori penitentiario et camerario gubernatoribus rectoribus capitaneis potestatibus et aliis quibuscumque offitialibus nostris dictarum romane curie et urbis reddituum verorum et proventuum eccle-

siasticorum ab omnibus et singulis archiepiscopis, electis, abbatibus abbatissis prioribus et priorissis prepositis administratoribus commendatariis capitulis conventibus guardianis ceterisque personis ecclesiasticis secularibus et regularibus ordinum et militiarum predictorum ac magistris prioribus castellanis bajulivis preceptoribus militiarum et prioratuum castellaniarum bajuliarum et preceptoriarum et militiarum hujusmodi fructus redditus et proventus ecclesiasticos ubilibet in dicto universo orbe percipientibus et percepturis, cujuscumque preheminentie dignitatis status gradus ordinis vel conditionis existant, etiam exemptis et quantumcumque privilegiatis persolvendos colligendos levandos et exigendos infra terminum per legatos sive nuntios et collectores per nos super hoc deputandos eisdem prefigendum in premissum fidey tam commune tam sanctum tam pernecessarium opus videlicet contra ipsos perfidissimos turchos et non in alios usus omnino convertendos, apostolica auctoritate et ex certa nostra scientia tenore presentium per triennium a data presentium computandum imponimus ; Et ut premissa metu pene ab omnibus inviolabiliter observentur, contradictores inhobedientes et rebelles aut scienter fraudentes et hujusmodi decimas integre non solventes, cujuscumque status gradus ordinis et preheminentie ut prefertur fuerint etiam si patriarchali archiepiscopali aut alia quavis ecclesiastica prefulgeant dignitate excommunicationis et privationis ecclesiarum monasteriorum aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum et offitiorum omnium ut supra qualificatorum, ita ut illa ex tunc vacare censeantur et ut vacantia impetrari et libere conferri possint, sententias et penas ipsas ipso facto incurrere declaramus, quibus sententiis venerabiles fratres nostri cardinales huic sanctissimo operi una nobiscum toto cordis affectu intenti sponte seipsos sumictere voluerunt, statuentes etiam ut omnes et singule persone que ob non solutionem sive defraudationem decimarum vel alias quomodocumque occasione premissorum excommunicationis sententia innodate fuerint, ab illa nisi per Romanum pontificem preterquam in mortis articulo constitute et nisi prius satisfacto de hiis que tenerentur, absolvi nequeant, nec absolutionem ipsam tam in foro conscientie quam contentioso et impetrationibus beneficiorum vel aliis quibuscumque gratiis obtinuisse censeantur nisi de excommunicationis sententia hujusmodi et ob quam causam meruerint specificam et expres-

sam fecerint mentionem, alioquin absolutiones et litere apostolice et quecumque concessiones beneficiorum et gratie sub quavis verborum forma concesse hullatenus eis suffragentur nulliusque sint roboris vel momenti ; Volentes quoque ac decernentes quod si auctore Domino profugatis hostibus fidey victoriam christianus exercitus assequeretur et finis huic bello impositus esset, si in secundo vel tertio anno id esse contingeret tunc ab eo tempore citra expeditione cessante decima hujusmodi amplius non levetur nec exigatur. Circa vero collectionem et exactionem tam decimarum quam pecuniarum quarumlibet et aliorum bonorum undecunque et quomodocunque ad hoc sanctum opus provenientium et modum illa exponendi per legatos sive nuntios et collectores predictos sub conditionibus modis et formis ita curabitur ut omnes plane intelligere aperte et videre possint pecunias hujusmodi integre in hanc salutarem expeditionem et non in alios usus erogari ; Requirimus insuper et monemus omnes et singulos prelatos supradictos eorumque vicarios et offitiales ac in virtute sancte hobedientie et sub excommunicationis pena, ipsis districte precipiendo mandamus quatenus quilibet eorum insolidum quamprimum presentes nostre litere seu earum transumpta manu alicujus notarii publici et sigillo alicujus eorum aut legatorum et collectorum predictorum munita presentata seu presentanda fuerint, ipsas literas ac omnia singula in eis contenta in suis ac aliis ecclesiis sive locis, suarum provintiarum civitatum et diocesum dominicis et festivis diebus quando et quotiens oportunum fuerit solempniter publicentur et exponantur et per quos ad hoc deputaverint publicari et exponi faciant, et ut melius et clarius intelligatur ab omnibus etiam si opusfuerit sermone vulgari. Non obstantibus... Ceterum quia difficile foret presentes literas ad singula queque loca... Nulli ergo... Si quis... Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno... Millesimo quingentesimo Kalendis Junii pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, Lib. I, Regest. 867, f° 90v°. — Very incorrectly ap. Burchard, Diar., t. III, p. 46.

DOCUMENT 198.

Taxa redituum romanorum DD. sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalium ad cujus rationem est solvenda decima in expeditione contra Turcas.

R^mus.	D. cardin.	Neapolitanus	pro ducatis	10,000,	ducatos	1,000
»	»	S. Petri ad Vincula	»	20,000,	»	2,000
»	»	S. Marie in Porticu	»	15,000,	»	1,500
»	»	S. Angeli	»	12,000,	»	1,200
»	»	Ulixbonensis	»	7,000,	»	700
»	»	Recanatensis	»	11,000,	»	1 100
»	»	S. Clementis	»	10,000,	»	1,000
»	»	Beneventanus	»	10,000,	»	1,000
»	»	S. Praxedis	»	10,000,	»	1,000
»	»	Montis Regalis	»	10,000,	»	1,000
»	»	Ursinus	»	10,000,	»	1,000
»	»	Alexandrinus	»	8,000,	»	800
»	»	S. Crucis	»	10,000,	»	1,000
»	»	Gurcensis	»	10,000,	»	1,000
»	»	Agrigentinus	»	2,000,	»	200
»	»	Capuanus	»	10,000,	»	1,000
»	»	Grimanus	»	7,000,	»	700
»	»	Arborensis	»	2,000,	»	200
»	»	Reginus	»	2,000,	»	200
»	»	Cusentinus	»	3,000,	»	300
»	»	Salernitanus	»	3,000,	»	300
»	»	Caputaquensis	»	2,000,	»	200
»	»	Mutinensis	»	3,000,	»	300
»	»	Senensis	»	9,000,	»	900
»	»	S. Georgii	»	18,000,	»	1,800
»	»	Columna	»	3,000,	»	300
»	»	Ascanius	»	30,000,	»	3,000
»	»	de Medicis	»	6,000,	»	600
»	»	S. Severini	»	13,000,	»	1,300
»	»	Estensis	»	14,000,	»	1,400
»	»	Cesarinus	»	2,000,	»	200
»	»	Farnesius	»	2,000,	»	200
»	»	Borgia	»	10,000,	»	1,000
»	»	Cornarius, qui nullos habet reditus,			»	nihil.
»	»	Macloviensis	»	12,000,	»	1,200
»	»	Cenomanensis	»	9,000,	»	900
»	»	Rotomagensis	»	9,000,	»	900
»	»	Alibrettus	»	2,000,	»	200
»	»	SS. quatuor coronatorum	»	8,000,	»	800
»	»	Hispalensis	»	14,000,	»	1,400
»	»	Aragonia	»	2,000,	»	200

R^mus. D. card. Rhodianus » » Polonus » » Strigonius	Hi qui in bello existunt nihil solvunt.

HENRICUS, ARCHIEPISCOPUS TARENTINUS

sacri collegii clericus et secretarius, ac decimarum collector, manu propria.

Camere apostolice vicecancellarius	ducatos	50
» notarii	»	40
» thesaurarius	»	70
» notarius ejusdem	»	30
» clerici	»	300
» auditor fisci	»	8
» computista	»	8
» depositarius generalis	»	100
» clerici collegii	»	40
» executor camere	»	12
» secretarii	»	1,200
Plumbi magistri	»	150
» collectores	»	1,248
» auditor generalis	»	100
» notarii	»	100
» notarii	»	200
» procurator fisci	»	8
» clerici collegii	»	60
Secretarie summator bullarum	»	30
» plumbatores	»	60
Palatii servientes armorum	»	150
» magistri ostiarii	»	64
» custodes porte ferree	»	18
» magistri sacri palatii	»	8
» scutiferi honoris	»	60
Capelle sacrista	»	4
» subdiaconi	»	200
» magistri ceremoniarum	»	30
» cantores	»	100
Cancellarie regens	»	40
» custos	»	40
» notarius	»	40
» abbreviatores de parco majori	»	300
» abbreviatores de parco minori	»	812
» sollicitatores	»	812
» examinatores	»	812
Registri supplicationum clerici scriptores	»	60
» salariati	»	60

Rote	auditores	ducatos 600
»	cursores	» 100
»	custodes cathedre	» 4
»	cubicularii	» 20
»	bibliothecarius	» 10
»	assistentes	» 50
»	accolyti	» 40
»	magistri capelle	» 10
»	capellani	» 8
»	corrector	» 60
»	ostiarius	» 20
»	Bibliothecarii officium de consuetis	» 20
»	protonotarii	» 301
»	scriptores apostolici	» 2,000
»	magistri	» 24
»	scriptores	» 80
»	notarii	» 300
Audientie contradictarum	auditores	» 40
»	procuratores	» 140
»	lectores	» 24
»	notarii	« 12
Penitentiarie	regentes	» 25
»	scriptores	» 324
»	penitentiarii minores	» 10
»	auditor	» 20
»	procuratores	» 144
Urbis vicarius pape		» 40
»	auditor	» 10
»	capitaneus curie Sabellorum	» 30
»	auditor	» 8
»	soldanus curie	» 15
»	senator	» 100
»	notarii	» 24
»	marescalcus	» 4
»	notarii	» 10
»	barigellus	» 100
»	capitaneus Turris None	» 5
Montium hospitale s. Jacobi, prope Coliseum		» 5
»	hospitale s. Alberti	» 5
Columne hospitale s. Hieronymi de Sclavonibus		» 2
Campi Martis hospitale Britannorum		» 4
Pontis hospitale s Angeli		» 6
»	» s. Spirítus in Saxia	» 400
»	» Bohemorum	» 10
»	» Portugallensium	» 6
»	» Flandrorum	» 6
Parionis hospitale Teutonicorum cum capellis		» 30

Arenule hospitale Anglicorum	ducatos	30
» » s. Eustachii	»	30
» » Francorum	»	10
Transtiberim, hospitale sanctorum quadraginta	»	6
» » Januensium	»	6

Burchard, Diarium, T. III, p. 56.

DOCUMENT 199.

Tithe or Subsidy of England against the Turks.

	Libr. Pound	Flor. Shilling	Den. Penny
Archid. Cantuarien. (Canterbury)	959	— 6	— 8
Dioecis Roff., Rochester	126	— 10	— 0
Dioecis Eliens., Ely	172	— 13	— 4
» Winton., Winchester	973	— 6	— 8
» Sarum., Salisbury	1228	— 0	— 0
» Cicestr., Chichester	427	— 13	— 4
» Bath et Well., Bath and Velles	617	— 16	— 8
» Norwic., Norwich	1883	— 0	— 0
» Exon., Excester	464	— 13	— 4
» Cov. et Lichf., Coventry and Liehfeld	524	— 13	— 4
» Hereford., Hereford	345	— 13	— 4
» Wigorn., Worcester	564	— 10	— 0
» London., London	871	— 0	— 0
» Lincoln., Lincoln	2759	— 4	— 3
Jurisdictio S. Albani, St. Albans	68	— 19	— 0
Dioecis Albeneven., St. Davids	86	— 13	— 4
» Landav., Landaff	13	— 6	— 8
» Assavén., St. Asaph	40	— 0	— 0
» Bangor., Bangor	15	— 0	— 0

The amounts of the archdiocese of York and of its suffragan dioceses are not given.

Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, Vol. III, p. 646.

DOCUMENT 200.

Wimpheling rebukes the German nobility.

« Wie lange », rief er den Deutschen Fürsten zu, « werdet ihr es dulden dass die Katholische Religion vernachlässigt und Constantinopel widerrechtlich besetzt gehalten wird ? Vielleicht kämpft ihr unter einander gerechte Kriege, aber gerechter ist

es für Christus zu kämpfen. Setzt einmal den Deutschen Zwistigkeiten eine Grenze, damit eure unbesiegte Tapferkeit sich gegen die Türken wenden könne. Erlöst die unglücklichen Christengefangenen, die in den Fesseln der Türkische Knechtschaft schmachten, befreit Constantinopel. Ihr seid Adeliche, ihr seid Christen, und wollt für Christen gehalten und angesehen werden. Zeigt aber eure Religion und euren Glauben durch eure Thaten selbst ! Duldet es nicht, dass eurer Ruhm abhanden komme, dass man euch Feigheit, Gleichgültigkeit, Müssigang, Trunkenheit, Luxus, Tanz, Schauspiel, Venusspiel, Kleinkramerei, Wohlleben, Vogelstellerei und dergleichen vorwerfen kann. »

Janssen adds : « Es war derselbe Mahnruf, den Geiler in seinem Predigten und Brant in seinem Gedichte an die Fürsten und andere sondersüchtige Reichstände ergehen liess.

Janssen, Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes, 9te Aufl. Bd. I. S. 111.

DOCUMENT 201.

Pope Alexander VI offers himself and the cardinals to personally go to war against the Turks.

Alexander etc. Carissimis in Christo filiis nostris Ferdinando regi et Helizabeth reginae Hispaniarum Catholicis.

...Quod si rem Deo imprimis acceptam, rei necessitati opportunam nomini famaeque nostrae gloriosam ac perennis memoriae facere vellemus, ut caeteri principes christiani exempli nostro facilius ad hoc gloriosum opus incitarentur, expediret ut personaliter in eam expeditionem proficisceremur ; ad quod nos, tametsi ab ineunte aetate sacris initiati, iisque semper intenti, et in hac demum sacrosancta pontificalique Sede locati, ingravescentibus annis, nihil minus quam arma et res bellicas tractare possumus, et arma nostra, ut scriptum est, esse potius deberent preces et lachrymae ; considerata, tamen evidenti et ante oculos omnium posita Christianorum necessitate, ac quantum praesentia nostra Christianos Principes ac populos disponere, exercitum animare, hostium animos audaciamque confringere poterit, matura in consistorio nostro cum ipsis Venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus consultatione,

modo idem Francorum Rex et Tua Majestas vel alter vestrum personaliter nobiscum venire velint, ultro libenterque, una cum ipsis cardinalibus, qui et ipsi omnes sponte ac personaliter nobiscum ire polliciti sunt, in propria persona cum classe nostra, in hoc sanctum adversus ipsos perfidos Turcas negotium ire decrevimus ; proprio sanguine, si expediat, christianum sanguinem vindicaturi, et pro fide Christi, cujus vices immeriti substinemus, et religione sua tuenda, ovibusque suis pastorali nostrae vigiliae curaeque commissis a rabido luporum ore eripiendis, precibus, orationibus ac quoquomodo, toto etiam, si casus ferat, corpore certaturi confidimus. Non deseret Deus, cujus causa agitur, sperantes in se, nec tantos talesque reges, nobiscum Christianoque exercitu, dabit videre corruptionem... Datum Romae die XX Octobris 1500 Pontificatus nostri anno IX.

Baluzius, Miscellanea, t. III, p. 423.

DOCUMENT 202.

Pope Alexander VI pays for the armament of his galleys in Venice.

Alexander pp. VI. Vobis venerabilibus fratribus nostris Oliverio Epº Sabin. et Laurentio tit. S. Marii presbitero ac dilecto filio nostro Francisco S. Eustachii Diacono cardinalibus Pecuniarum Decimarum et vigesimarum commissariis et Depositariis, tenore presentium committimus et mandamus ut de dictis pecuniis exactis et exigendis, solvi faciatis per manus Venlis fratris Hen. Archiepiscopi Tarentin. earumdem decimarum collectoris infrascriptas pecuniarum summas, videlicet Dilectis filiis heredibus quondam Ambrosii de Spannochiis mercatoris Senen. Duc. quatuor milla auri largorum, Rigo Fucher et fratribus mercatoribus Alemannis Duc. sex milia et septingentos similes, Paulo Sauli mercatori Januen. Ro. cu. sequenti Duc. quatuor milia et trecentos similes, pro totidem quos prefati mercatores per eorum cedulas cambii solvi mandarunt Venetiis ven. fratri Antonio Epº Venusino Commisario et oratori nostro ad expeditionem classis nostre contra Turcos destinato, pro expensis in dicta expeditione conficienda ; Necnon dictis de Fucher Duc. Ducentos quinquaginta similes quos eisdem dono dari volumus

pro anticipata solutione et mutuo quatuor milium septingentorum Duc. in dicta eorum summa comprehensorum, constituentes in totum summam quindecim milium Ducentorum quinquaginta Duc. auri largorum, quos in computis dictarum Decimarum admitti mandamus. Datum Rome apud S^m^ Petrum die III^a^ Maii MDI. Pont. nri. anno nono Placet et ita mandamus. R.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Julii II. Div. Cam. 1502-1508, Armar. 29, no. 55, f° 98.

DOCUMENT 203.

Foundation of divine services by pope Alexander VI for the repose of his soul.

En el Libro de las Missas y de las Rentas a fol. 381 consta lo siguiente :

Por Alex° P. P. 6° se dice una Missa resada cada sabado por aver dado a la Iglesa gratis el Palacio en frente de San Luis de los franceses.

Págase por ella un Real y consta en el libro A. fol. 42.

Dicenle mas los cappellanes de casa en cada primer Domingo de mes una vigilia y no se les paga por haverles dejado la sal por su sustento.

In el Libro intitulado de Decretos desde el año de 1530 : hasta el 1534 no X en la Tabla de las Missas a fol. 31 : consta lo siguiente :

Item dicuntur pro anima Alex. P. P. 6. 4 missae in quolibet mense, videlicet in diebus Sabbathi cujuscumque septimanae pro quibus donavit quamdam domum in qua ad presens habitat Dnus. Salazar, nec non dedit 600 ducatos auri in auro, et duos Rubeos perpetuos salis hospitali et Ecclesiae.

Dicitur unus anniversarius in qualibet prima Dominica cujuslibet mensis pro dicta anima pro quo nihil solvitur.

Ms. Archives of the former church and hospice of S. Giacomo dei Spagnuoli, now preserved by the rector of S. Maria in Monserrato of Rome.

DOCUMENT 204.

Nepotism of pope Pius II towards the Sienese.

...Totus pontificatus ejus (Pii II), si licet dicere, nil habuit praeter curam servandae et augendae patriae. Commemorant (scripta) praefectos arcium, civitatum et copiarum Ecclesiae quos omnes perhibent Senenses fuisse ; enumerant Radicophanum eis confirmatum, Fighinum, Gavoranum et Castellionem Piscariae restitutam. Duo oppida in civitates cum cathedralibus erecta, dioceses vicinis ecclesiis ademptas ut hae formarentur, duas item plenarias indulgentias, quarum singulae summis potentatibus vix conceduntur, intra unius diei iter eis concessas : Senae unam, Pientiae alteram. Addunt Romanam curiam quae vix Senensem antea noverat, praelatis et officialibus plaenam nunc esse, Cancellariam, Penitentiariam, Collegium Advocatorum et Secretariorum, Cameram apostolicam ministris Senensibus non vacare, inter VII ex toto orbe subdiaconos Romani Pontificis duos Senenses esse, sex porro externis atque insignibus Ecclesiis, quarum duo archipraesulatum habent, concives totidem in pastores datos : Ragusinae et Beneventanae et Syracusanae et Cornetanae et Fulginati et Caietanae. Demum, ut magni defensores non deesent, tres quoque ex civibus ad Cardinalatum assumptos...

Cardinalis Papiensis Epistolae, p. 49, 50.

DOCUMENT 205.

Cesar de Borgia pays his yearly tribute for the Duchy of Romagna.

Habuit (the Camera apostolica) dicta die (July 15, 1502) florenos similes (auri de Camera) duo milia tricentos, vigore mandati sub die 28 Junii ab Ill^mo^ dno. d. Cesare Borgia, Duce Romandiole S. Ro. E. Confalonero et Capitaneo generali, pro censu Forlivii, Imole, Bertinorii, Ariminii, Cesene, Pisaurii, Faventie, Amaldule, S. Mauri, Lancone et aliorum locorum, que tenet in Vicariatu a Sede Aplica, videlicet dictos duo milia, et

ducatos 300 pro censu fani, Montis floris, Mundavii etc. pro uno anno. fl. 3114.42.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Introitus et Exitus, vol. 532. Die 15 Julii, 1502.

Alexander PP. VI. Fatemur recepisse in prompta et numerata pecunia a dilecto filio nobili viro Cesare de Borgia de Francia Romandiole Valentieque Duce nro. et S. R. E. Confalonerio et capitaneo generali florenos auri de Camera boni et justi ponderis duo milia pro censu Forlivii Imole Cesene Britonoris Ariminii Sarsinarum Pisauri et Faventie civitatum, necnon terrarum Medule et Sci Mauri Cesenaten. dioc. ac Caminate Vallis Annonis aliorumque castrorum Terrarum Fortilitiorum et locorum ac comitatus sibi per nos in Vicariatum sub titulo ducatus concessorum, necnon florenos similes trecentos pro civitate Fani Montisflorum Mondavii et aliorum castrorum comitatuum territoriorum et districtuum suorum sibi similiter per nos concessorum presenti anno debito... Datum Rome in Camera apostolica Die XXVIII Junii M. D. 11.

Placet et ita fatemur et motu proprio mandamus R.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Div. Cam. 1501-1503. Armar. 29, no. 54, f° 199.

Alexander... Fatemur habuisse (from Cesar de Borgia) Duc. duomilia et trecentos auri in auro de Camera, quos nobis et Camere apostolice solvit pro annuo censu Forlivii, Imole, Bertinorii, Arimini, Cesene, Pisaurii, Favencie et Fani civitatum, necnon terrarum Meldule, Sancti Mauri Cesenaten. dioc., Montisfloris, Mondavii cum ejus comitatu ac communitatis Vallisamonis aliarumque terrarum(castrorum, fortaliciorum, ac comitatuum sibi in Vicariatum sub titulo Ducatus per apostolicam Sedem concessorum, presentis anni finiti in vigilia beatorum apostolorum petri et pauli... Datum Rome, apud S. p. die XXVIII Junii MDIII.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI, Julii II, Div. Camere 1502-1508.

Armar. 29, no. 55 f° 68vo. The same record is to be found in the same secret Archives, Introitus et Exitus, vol. 533, at the date of June 30th, 1503.

DOCUMENT 206.

Pope Alexander VI deeply in debt requests help from England.

Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Magistro Castellen., clerico Cornetano, Notario et Nuntio nostro ac fructuum et proventuum Camere apostolice in Regno Anglie Collectori Salt, et... Sane postquam ad summum apostolatus apicem divina favente clementia assumpti fuimus, invenimus cameram apostolicam in summa Tricentorum millium ducatorum auri de Camera et ultra diversis Mercatoribus et aliis personis per felicis recordationis Innocentium pp. VIII predecessorem nostrum, qui gravia et intolerabilia pro Roman. ecclesie necessitatibus et ejusdem reipublice Christiane defensione impensarum onera subire coactus fuit, fuisse et esse obligatam, ac propterea usurarum voragine in dies magis atque magis consumi, dictaque debita peramplius augeri, non sine maximo dicte Camere ac ejusdem Roman. ecclesie damno et detrimento. Quo fit ut cum eiusdem Roman. ecclesie reditus ad solutionem debitorum hujusmodi ac perferenda alia nobis et eidem ecclesie incumbentia onera ac obviandum perfidissimorum Turchorum Christi nominis et orthodoxe fidei hostium acerrimorum conatibus, qui in dies christianum sanguinem sitientes continue peiora adversus ipsam rempublicam christianam moliuntur, ad presens minime sufficiant, necesse sit nobis in hujusmodi primordiis, ne tanta usurarum voragine dicta Camera opprimatur et consumetur, et ut conatibus Turchorum perfidorum hujusmodi resistere valeamus, aliunde subsidia exquirere. Et quia nonnulli Christiani principes premissa omnia considerantes et cognoscentes, pro sua erga hanc Sanctam Sedem apostolicam filiali devotione, nobis promptissimo animo de propriis eorum pecuniis generose subvenerunt, sperantes non minus in singulari devotionis affectu, quem semper Carissimus in Christo filius nr. Henricus Anglie Rex Illustris, suorum predecessorum dicti Regni Regum vestigia sequutus erga eamdem ecclesiam gessit et gerit, pro viribus omnia oportuna subsidia nobis in Regno suo predicto ac aliis sibi subjectis dominiis prestare et prestari facere non desinet. Ac de probitate tua plurimum confidentes... tibi super omnibus et singulis

Metropolitanarum Cathedralium aliarumque ecclesiarum necnon monasteriorum... aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum... secularium ac... et aliorum quorumcumque ordinum... regularium... in Regnis aliisque dominiis predictis consistentium fructibus redditibus et proventibus... prout tibi videbitur, Unum subsidium usque ad summam Centum millium florenorum auri de Camera, vel alias prout tibi visum fuerit expedire, limitandum imponendi ac illud ab omnibus et singulis archiepiscopis... pro rata fructuum... conditione et qualitate pensatis, per te vel alium seu alios... levandi percipiendi et exigendi... Contradictores quoque et rebelles per privationis ac excommunicationis aliasque sententias... compescendi... plenam liberam et omnimodam auctoritate prefata tenore presentium concedimus facultatem. Non obstantibus... Datum Rome apud Sanctumpetrum Anno etc. Mcccclxxxxiij. Non. Junii Pont. nri. Anno Primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. An. I, II, III, Regest. 869, f° 79.

DOCUMENT 207.

Pope Alexander VI institutes the College of « Scriptores Brevium Apostolicarum. »

Alexander Epus etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Cum ad Sacrosancte Roman. ecclie. sinum velut matris ubera referta dulcedine et ad Romanum Pontificem Christi vicarium successoremque Petri sicuti ad clementissimum et pientissimum patrem orbis terrarum et qui in eo habitant grandi spe assidue confluant universi, Decet ipsum Romanum Pontificem circa eorum que ab eo petuntur expeditionem sic diligenter prospicere et salubriter providere quod ii erga quos Sedes apostolica exuberare non cessat non solum in expeditione hujusmodi indebite non graventur sed optatum ac celerem petitionum suarum consequantur effectum. Sane dudum fel. rec. Innocen. pp. VIIIs predec nr. ex certis rationabilibus causis tunc expressis numerum dilectorum filiorum Secretariorum Apostolicorum qui tunc sex numero duntaxat erant, de fratrum suorum sce. r. e. cardinalium de quorum numero tunc eramus, consilio, ad numerum triginta Secretariorum, eisdem sex inter eos computatis, sub

certis modo et forma auxit, qui prout etiam ante augmentum hujusmodi fiebat, Brevia que per Secretariam apostolicam pro tempore expediuntur per nonnullos eorum ministros ad eorum nutum amovibiles, certo eis pro eorum labore constituto salario, scribi facere consueverunt. Verum cum officium ipsorum Secretariorum qui pro majori parte prelati existunt numero sic aucto etiam propter personarum suarum qualitatem in non parvi honoris reputationem creverit et negocia que per dictam Secretariam expediuntur pro majori parte magne importantie sint, profecto maxime expediens et conveniens existit quod sicuti aliarum apostolicarum et que per penitentiariam nostram expediuntur literarum certus numerus scriptorum existit qui roman. curie non parvo ornamento et utilitati fore noscuntur ipsorumque Brevium scriptores qui viri integri habiles et idonei esse et per quos dumtaxat et nullum alium omnia brevia hujusmodi scribi et pro partium quibus illa conceduntur securitate registrari debeant certus numerus instituatur : Et ex hoc non solum Collegii secretariorum et totius curie predictorum decori et amplitudini sed etiam celeriori diligentiori maturiori et fideliori ipsorum Brevium expeditioni commoditatibusque illa sollicitantium qui ab expensis quas propter expeditionis hujusmodi tarditatem subire coguntur relevarentur plurimum consuleretur, et ipsarum partium que brevibus ipsis non regestratis ipsorum brevium auctentica sumpta habere hactenus non poterant dispendiis nec non falsitatibus que superioribus annis in Brevium hujusmodi expeditione commisse comperte fuerunt oportune occurreretur. Nos igitur habita super his cum Venerabilibus fratribus nostris ejusdem sancte ro. e. cardinalibus deliberatione matura et de eorum consilio ipsorumque et Secretariorum predictorum consensu et ex certa nra. scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium statuimus et ordinamus quod de cetero perpetuis futuris temporibus in ipsa Secretaria sint Octogentaunus officiales qui Scriptores Brevium apostolicarum nuncupentur, et omnia Brevia apostolica, brevibus de Curia et que per Secretarium domesticum expedita, ad Secretariam predictam mitti minime consueverunt dumtaxat exceptis, scribere et in illorum plica ab extra nomen suum, videlicet illius qui breve scripsit ad instar literarum apostolicarum et penitentiarie hujusmodi scriptorum apponere ac brevia hujusmodi pro tempore expedita regestrare, ac in his

que eorum officium et illius exercitium et expeditionem hujusmodi concernunt domesticum et alios secretarios predictos, eorumque collegium in eorum caput et superiores cognoscere et habere, ac statutis et ordinationibus predictos secretarios desuper edendis, super quo eisdem secretariis harum serie plenam et liberam facultatem concedimus, gubernari et regi ac iilis parere debeant, Faciantque et constituant ipsi Scriptores Brevium inter se collegium cum communi archa sive bursa ac omnia emolumenta ratione dicti officii scriptorie brevium provenientia ponant in communi, et in fine mensis cujuslibet seu alterius temporis desuper ordinando hujusmodi emolumenta equaliter dividant, Sintque ipsi et eorum singuli nostri et Romani Pontificis pro tempore existentis veri familiares continui commensales palatini, et in quibuscumque literis scripturis et actibus se tales scribere et nominare et ab aliis nominari possint et debeant, et pro eorum personis quascumque literas apostolicas tam gratiam quam justitiam concernentes in omnibus officiis etiam sollicitatorum dictarum literarum apostolicarum gratis ubique ad instar abbreviatorum earumdem literarum apostolicarum expediant, gaudeantque omnibus et singulis antelationum prerogativis privilegiis favoribus exceptionibus immunitatibus gratiis concessionibus et indultis quibus literarum apostolicarum abbreviatores et scriptores predicti necnon nostri et Romani Pontificis pro tempore existentis familiares continui commensales pro tempore descripti etiam in quorumcumque beneficiorum que vigore gratiarum expectativarum eis concessarum pro tempore expectant assecutionem utuntur potiuntur et gaudent ac uti potiri et gaudere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum, Non solum ad eorum instar sed pariformiter et absque ulla differentia, sine tamen abbreviatorum et scriptorum ac familiarium descriptorum predictorum prejudicio. Mandantes in virtute sancte obedientie ac sub excommunicationis late sententie pena quam nisi paruerint eo ipso incurrant dictarum literarum apostolicarum Rescribendario et computatori et aliis literarum apostolicarum scriptoribus et abbreviatoribus et solicitatoribus predictis et quibuscumque nunc et pro tempore existentibus aliis ad quos pertinebit ut literas personas dictorum Scriptorum Brevium concernentes hujusmodi in omnibus eorum officiis gratis expediant, ponendo videlicet Gratis pro Scriptore Brevium apostolicorum. Volentes et eadem auctoritate

decernentes quod liceat dictis Scriptoribus Brevium de eorum officiis et emoluinentis ad instar aliorum scriptorum predictorum disponere illaque resignare, et illi quibus eadem officia concessa fuerint pro concessione hujusmodi officii quam a nobis vel romanis pontificibus pro tempore existentibus obtinebunt dum hujusmodi officia per resignationem vacabunt, Nobis seu successoribus nostris Romanis Pontificibus pro tempore existentibus quinquaginta Ducatos auri de Camera persolvere teneantur, quodque ad hujusmodi officium per solam supplicationem desuper per nos seu successores nostros vel de mandato nostro vel successorum nostrorum predictorum signatam si literas apostolicas desuper expedire noluerint, absque aliarum literarum apostolicarum desuper expeditione admittantur. Et ut ipsi Scriptores Brevium circa eorum officium diligentius intendere possint et laborum suorum aliquod premium reportent, Eisdem Scriptoribus Brevium et eorum officio concedimus quod ipsis Scriptores Brevium ultra viginta quatuor flor. auri in auro de Camera per collegium predictorum secretariorum ministris qui hactenus brevia hujusmodi scribebant quolibet mense persolvi solitos quos eis pro scriptura brevium hujusmodi solvi debere decernimus emolumenta unius integre taxe literarum apostolicarum per eamdem cameram apostolicam pro tempore expeditarum, etiam si provisiones ecclesiarum seu monasteriorum sint ac etiam omnem integram portionem taxe rega. literarum apostolicarum per cancellariam apostolicam expediri solitarum Romano Pontifici pro tempore contingentem que nos et alii antecessores nostri Romani Pontifices percipere consuevimus, jura quoque regalia nuncupata que pro literis apostoliciis provisionum ecclesiarum cathedralium et metropolitanarum et patriarchalium et monasteriorum per eamdem cameram pro tempore expeditis percipimus, necnon pro cujuslibet brevium hujusmodi registratura unum carlenum : que Scriptoribus Brevium et eorum collegio et offitio predictis perpetuo concedimus et applicamus, etiam perpetuo habeant et percipiant inter se ut premittitur dividenda. Et cum nos nuper ad obviandum ferocitati immanissimi Turchorum tyranni qui Christianum nomen jam pluribus annis opprimere studens Neopaten. et Metonen. civitatibus et diversis aliis Christianorum locis non absque crudelissima ipsorum Christianorum strage expugnatis magnam classem adversus Christianos paraverat Stipendium Quadraginta milium ducato-

rum Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Wladislao Hungarie et Boemie Regi illustri aliquibus elapsis annis persolverimus oportueritque nos tam propterea quam propter classem triremium quam superiori anno in eosdem Turchos armavimus, debellandosque et extirpandos tirannos Romaneque ecclesie rebellos qui ejusdem Romane ecclesie statum et romanam curiam ac curiales nephandis predis et facinoribus opprimere undique satagebant contra quos etiam maximum et validissimum exercitum paravimus et alia gravia onera nobis et eidem romane ecclesie incumbentia magnas impensas subire, infrascriptique Scriptores brevium ad dictum eorum offitium per nos absumpti et deputati summam Sexaginta Millium ducatorum auri de camera similium pro predictorum onerum subsidio liberaliter persolverint, Nos dignum reputantes ut ipsorum indemnitatibus consulatur, de consilio scientia et potestatis plenitudine predictis similique ipsorum cardinalium consensu eodem tenore decernimus et declaramus quod in eventum in quo contingeret offitium Scriptorum Brevium hujusmodi in toto vel in parte per nos vel successores nostros ro. pontifices extingui seu revocari aût ipsos Scriptores Brevium quominus omnia emolumenta predicta eis assignata percipere libere possint quomodolibet impediri, Nos et successores predictos ac Cameram Apostolicam bona fide teneri et obligatos esse prout nos et successores ac cameram et bona hujusmodi in vim validi et efficacis contractus obligamus si facta fuerit diminutio dictorum emolumentorum ad solvendum et satisfaciendum ipsis de omni summa quam ipsos Scriptores Brevium ex hujusmodi diminutione amisisse constabit. Si vero offitium predictum revocetur aut alteretur ad restituendam ei supradictam integram summam dictorum Sexaginta milium ducatorum per ipsos ut prefertur solutorum in quibus nullo modo nullave ratione vel causa computari debeant seu possint in toto vel parte emolumenta ipsius officii que ipsi interim perceperint, sed eos et quemlibet eorum justo et legitimo titulo emolumenta predicta sibi acquirere et ut sua retinere posse et debere, Mandantes dilecto filio Raphaeli Sancti Georgii ad velum aureum diacono cardinali Camerario nostro et ejus in cameriatu hujusmodi successoribus necnon presidentibus ac omnibus et singulis aliis ad quos id quomodolibet spectabit pro tempore ut summam Sexaginta milium ducatorum hujusmodi ad ordinarium introitum dicte camere ponant et describant scripturasque necessa-

iias et oportunas obligationes desuper conficiant per nos sic factam obligationem hujusmodi recognoscentes et sequentes faciantque eisdem scriptoribus brevium super premissis et eorum plena et inviolabili observatione quodcumque instrumentum obligationis bonorum romane ecclesie et ejusdem camere ad omnem ipsorum scriptorum brevium requisitionem et in eventum predictum absque aliqua alterius declarationis seu mandati expectatione de premissis debitam et integram satisfactionem Nec non plumbatoribus ac magistris et cassariis dicti regestri etiam nunc et pro tempore existentibus quatenus tassas predictas ad nos spectantes quolibet mense collegio dictorum scriptorum absque diminutione integre et effectualiter tradant ac consignent seu per deputandum seu deputandos ab eisdem scriptoribus brevium recipi et percipi permictant Decernentes etiam ex nunc quicquid per cameram et alios predictos super hoc sic actum et gestum fuerit perpetuo ratum et firmum esse debere ac quecumque brevia apostolica per alios quam per ipsos scriptores brevium post hujusmodi eorum offitium istitutem pro tempore scripta, predictis de Curia et per dictum Secretarium domesticum ad secretariam ipsam minime micti solitis ut prefertur exceptis, nullius firmitatis existere eisque in judicio vel extra illud nullam fidem adhiberi debere Volentes et eadem auctoritate decernentes quod scriptores ipsi eorum offitium exercere et emolumenta exinde provenientia hujusmodi Kl. mensis Aprilis proxime futuri percipere incipere et successive continuare debeant. Non obstantibus... Nomina vero dictorum Scriptorum Brevium sunt hec : (Eighty names and one stricken.) Nulli ergo... Si quis... Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum Anno etc. Millo. quingentesimo tertio, Kl. Aprilis pont. nri. anno undecimo.

† Ego Alexander Catholice eccᵉ Epᵘˢ Ssr.
† Ego O. Epˢ Sabinen. S. Ro. E. Carˡⁱˢ Neap. manu ppª Sr.
† Ego G. Epˢ Tuscul. Carˡⁱˢ portugallen. man. ppª Ssr
† Ego Hyr. Epᵘˢ Penestrin. Carˡⁱˢ Rechanaten. mᵘ ppª Ssr.
† Ego L. Epᵘˢ Albanen. S.R.E. Carˡⁱˢ Buventan. Man. ppª Ssr.
† Ego A. S. Ro. E. pbr. Carˡⁱˢ tt. Sce. Praxedis man. ppª SSr.
† Ego Jo. Carˡⁱˢ Montisregalis manu ppª Ssr.
† Ego Jo. Antˢ Carˡⁱˢ Alexandrin. manu ppª Ssr.
† Ego B. cardinalis sce. † in hierlm. manu ppª Ssr.
† Ego D. cardinalis Grimanus manu ppª Ssr.

† Ego Ja. cardinalis Arboren. manu pp^{a} Ssr.
† Ego F. tt. sce Cecilie Car^{lis} Cusentin manu pp^{a} Ssr.
† Ego Jo. tt. sce Balbine pbr. Car^{lis} Salernitan. man. prop^{a} Ssr
† L. tt. sce. Agathe pbr. Car^{lis} Caputaquen. man. prop^{a}.
† Ego Jo. Ste. tt. sci Vitalis pbr. Car^{lis} Bono. prop^{a} Ssr.
† Ego F. S^{ti} Eustachii Senen. manu prop^{a} Ssr.
† Ego Jo. Sce Marie in domnica diac. Car^{lis} d. Medicis man. prop^{a} Ssr.
† Ego F. sci Theodori diac. Car^{lis} de sco Severino Ssr.
† Ego Jull. Diac. Car^{lis} de Cesarinis Ssr.
† Ego A. Diacon. Car^{lis} Dalbreto manu prop^{a} Ssr.
† Ego L. Diaconus Car^{lis} Borgia manu prop^{a} Ssr.

DOCUMENT 208.

Letter of pope Alexander VI to Lucretia de Borgia.

Alexander papa VI manu propria.

Dona Lucretia, figlola carissima. Parechi dì fa che non habiamo lettera tua, de la qual cosa ne stamo assai maravigliati, et che si così negligente in scriverse spese volte, et avisarse della sanità tua et del Signor Joanni nostro carissimo figlolo : fa che per l'avenire si più acurata et diligente. Madona Adriana et Julia sono junte in Capo di Monte, dovo trovorono suo fratello morto. De la qual morte così el cardinale como Julia ne hano preso tanta alteratione et afflictione, che tutti doi sono cascati co la febre. Noi li habiamo mandato a visitare per Pietro Carranca et havemo proveduto de medici, et del necessario. Speramo in Dio et in la nostra donna gloriosa, che in brevi starano bene. Veramente il signor Joanni et tu havete poco respecto et consideratione a noi in questa partita de madonna et de Julia in lasarle partire senza expressa licentia nostra, perchè devevate pensare, come era el debito vostro, de una tal partita repentina sensa nostra saputa, non se poteva si non summamente despiacere. Et si dirai lora volsena così, perchè el cardinale de Frenese così voleva et comandava, devevate voi altri pensare si questo piacerà al papa. Ora fato è : un' altra seremo più acorti, et pensaremo molto bene in man de chi mettemo le cose nostre etc. Noi, per la gratia di Dio et de la

gloriosa nostra donna, stamo molto bene de la persona. Siamo stati col serenissimo Alfonso, et quale s'è portato con noi con tanto amore, observantia et obediencia, como si fusse uno nostro proprio figlolo. Non te poteriamo dir nè exprimere quanto siamo partiti ben contenti et satisfatti l'un de l'altro. Et si certa sua maestà ha de mettere per lo stato et servicio nostro la persona et quanto tene in questo mundo etc. La suspicione et differencie de questi columnesi fratre o quatro di speramo in tutto se aseteraronno. Et per questa non altro, si non che atendi ad star sana et a essere devota de nostra Donna gloriosa.

Dat. Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, die XXIIII Julii MCCCC-LXXXXIIII.

Jo. Datarius.

Sopra carta : A nostra Carissima figlola dona Lucretia de Borgia.

Rome, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, from Ugolini, Storia dei Conti e Duchi d'Urbino, t. II, p. 521.

Gregorovius says (Lucr. Borgia, Bd. I. S. 75) that he saw the original in Archiv. di Stato of Florence, and that the Address only is from the hand of the Pope, the letter written by John Lopez, then papal datary.

DOCUMENT 209a

Laura, daughter of Julia Farnese, was the child of Ursinus Orsini.

Adsit propitius adjutor et fautor omnipotens et dominus deus noster et ad vota benignus descendat. Pateat oib. hoc instr... qualiter a. sal. 1499 Ind. Scda. die vero mens. aprilis II pont. S. D. N. Dni. Alex. div. prov. pape VI. magcus et generosus vir dnus. Ursinus de Ursinis pater et legitimus administrator dne Laure ejus legitime et nalis. filie etatis septem annor. existentis presentis... cum assistentia Rmi dni Alexandri tti S. Cosma et Dom. diaconi Carlis de Farnesio... avunculi dictae puellae... ex una parte, et Rdus pr dnus Paulus Petrus et conjuncta persona magci ac generosi pueri dni Federici quond. exmi armor. ductoris dni Raymundi de Farnesio legitimi et naturalis filii in XIImo

sue etatis anno constituti pro quo promisit quod infra mensem ratificabit contractum et instrumentum matrimonii...

Ego Camillus Beneimbene

Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, f. II, p. 65.

DOCUMENT 209b

Alexander pp. VI. Motu proprio etc. Dilectis filiis heredibus quondam Ambrosii de Spannochiis et sociis... depositariis nostris Sal. etc. Cum vos ex causa certe compositionis et concordie vertentis litis inter dilectum filium Paulum de Ursinis domicellum romanum et heredes condam Ursini de Ursinis de ordinatione nostra promiseritis solvere dilecte filie Laure dicti quondam Ursini filie et heredi seu ejus tutrici duomillia duc. de carl. X pro quolibet ducato per totum mensem augusti proxime futuri... Die primo mensis Martii MCCCCCII. Pont. nri Aº 10º.

Archiv. Secret Vatic. Alex. VI. Diversa Camerae 1501-1503, Armar. 29, no. 54, fº 146.

DOCUMENT 209c.

In n. D. D. nri J. Ch. Anno a nat. ejusd. Millº quingentesimo Vtº pont. S. D. N. dni Julii div. prov. pp. II. Ind. VIII sec. mor. Rom. mens. nov. die vero Constituti ante pedes et sac. consp. pfati Smi dni nri pp. Adstantib. ibid. et assistentibus Rmis... In mei Not. pub. et test. infrascr. presentia Magcus Adolescens dnus Nicolaus de Ruvere pfati S. D. N. pape Nepos ac Rmi in xro pris Dni Galeotti tti S. Petri ad Vincula Carlis ac S. R. E. Vicecancellarii germ. frater cum presentia et assistentia ejusd. ex una et magca et generosa dna dna Julia de Farnesio vidua relicta quond. magci viri dni Ursini de Ursinis Mater et dudum Tutrix et nunc Curatrix magce puelle adulte dne laure sue et dicti qd. dni Ursini legitime et nat filie et universalis heredis et ipsa Magca dna laura cum presentia et auct. dicte sue matris ac Tutricis dudum et nunc curatricis et legit. administratricis et cum pres. et assist Rmi in xro patris Alexandri tti S. Eustachii Cardlis de Farnesio vulg. nuncup. Avunculi prefate dne laure sue germane sororis filie...

Gregorovius, Lucr. Borgia, t. II, p. 146.

DOCUMENT 210[a].

Tutors appointed for the Roman Infant, legitimated son of Cesar de Borgia.

Alexander etc. Ad futuram Rei memoriam. Exigit officii nostri debitum ut ad ea sollicite intendamus per que pupillorum qui ob minorem etatem eorum Res jura et bona tuere gubernare et administrare non valent indempnitati velut justum est ante omnia oportune consulatur. Cum itaque dilectus filius Nobilis Johannes de Borgia Infans Roman. dux Nepesin. qui in Tercio vel circa sue etatis anno constitutus extit ac deffectu natalium patitur de dilecto filio nobili viro Cesare Borgia de francia Romandiole et Valencie duce nro et S^te^ Roman. ecclie. Confalonerio et Capitaneo gnali. conjugato genitus et soluta super quo secum sufficienter apostolica fuit auctoritate dispensatum, ob minorem etatem hmoi. tutore indigere noscatur. Nos... de eximia dilectorum filiorum nostrorum Antoniotti S^te^ Praxedis et Johannis Anthonii S^torum^ Nerei et Achilei et francisci S^te^ Cecilie tt^orum^ pbrorum. et hippoliti S^te^ Lucie in Silice diacon. Cardinalium prudentia bonitate circumspectione et longa rerum agendarum experientia sumentes in domino fiduciam specialem. Motu proprio... Sancte Praxedis et Sanctorum Nerei et Achilei ac Sancte Cecilie presentes et honus hmoi. in se sponte suscipientes ac qui in presentiarum absens existit Sancte Lucie in Silice cardinales prefatos et eorum quemlibet prefatos Johanni Infanti et duci donec ad pubertatem pervenerit tutores in ampla et valida juris forma auctoritate prefata tenore presentium facimus constituimus et deputamus... Et quia prefatus Franciscus cardinalis ad presens commodius tutele hmoi. intendere poterit, ne quovis modo utilitas prefati Johannis Infantis et ducis impediatur, prefato Francisco Cardinali Soli administrationem et gubernationem tutelle... commitimus atque concedimus... Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno etc. Mill. quingen. primo Decimo septimo Kl. Decembr. Pontus, nri Anno decimo.

f. de Valentia.

Coll. F. de Attanantis.

speciffica expressa individua ac de verbo
ad verbum non autem per clausulas generales id importantes
mentio seu quevis alia expressio habenda
foret tenores hujusmodi pro sufficienter expressis
et insertis habentes illis alias in suo robore
permansuris hac vice dumtaxat specialiter et
expresse motu scientia auctoritate et potestatis
plenitudine similibus omnino derogamus et
derogatum esse volumus Ceterisque contrariis
quibuscumque. Verum quia difficile foret
presentes literas ad singula queque loca in
quibus expediens fuerit deferre etiam motu
simili volumus et dicta auctoritate decernimus quod
illarum transsumptis manu publici notarii
inderogati subscriptis et sigillo alicujus
prelati seu alterius persone ecclesiastice in dignitate
... constitute munitis ea prorsus
fides indubia in judicio et extra
alias ubilibet adhibeatur que presentibus adhiberetur
si essent exhibite vel ostense Nulli etc.
nostre commissionis assignationis voluntatis decreti
facti constitutionis deputationis derogationis et
indulti infringere etc. Si quis etc.

etc. millesimo quingentesimo primo/ Decimo Septimo Kl
F
F att Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo/ Decembris F.
att.

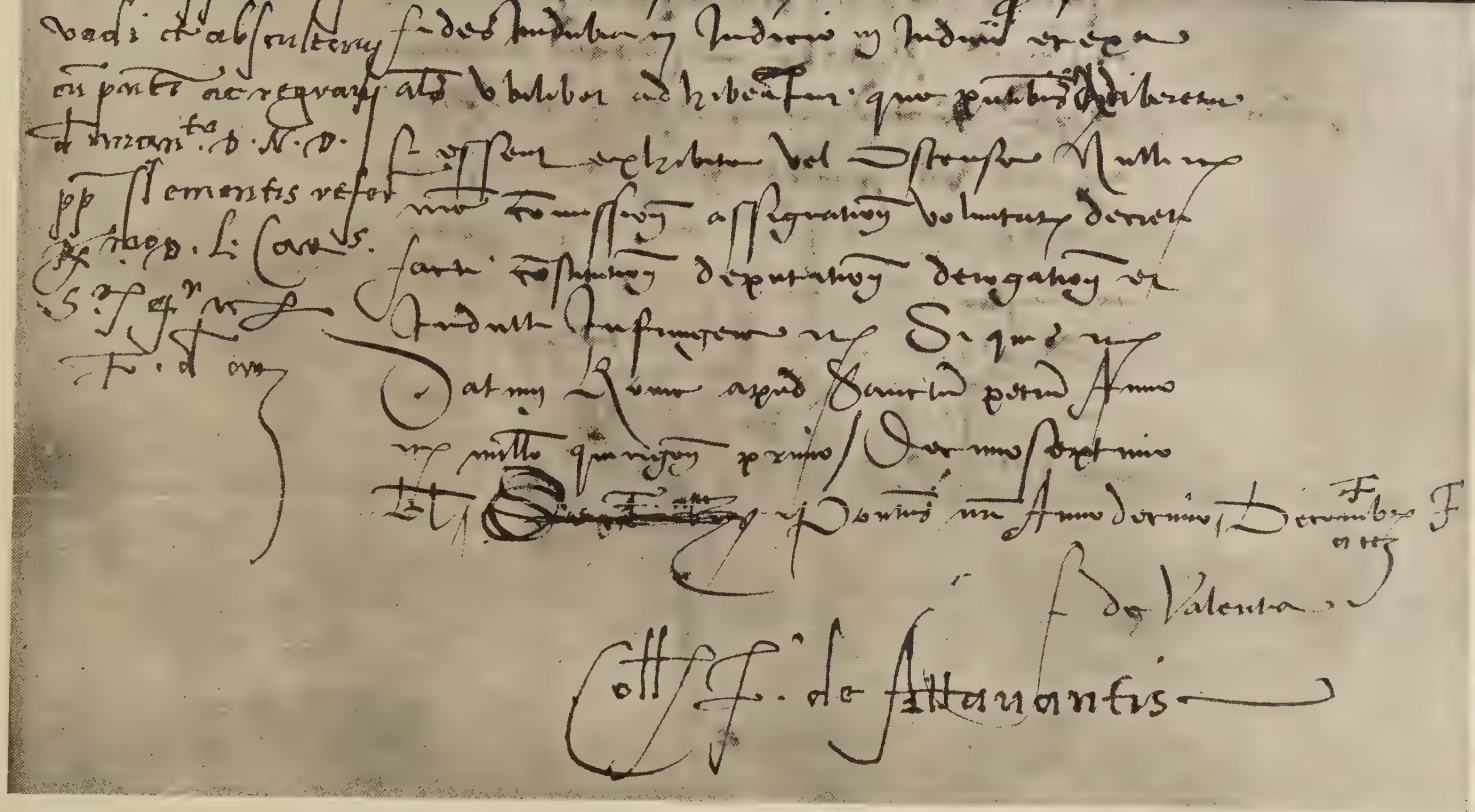
f/ de Valentia

Coll. F. de Attanantis.

Such is the unimportant conclusion of the alleged bull naming the tutors of the Infant Giovanni de Borgia. More significant is the unusual annotation:

Suprascripta Bulla fuit per Hadrianum tunc secretarium registrata prout in dorso eiusdem Bulle apparet quam vidi et abscultavi cum presente ac registravi de mandato D. N. D. pp. Clementis referente R^mo D. L. car^s S^rm 4^r coronatorum.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Regest. 871. f° 196^bisvo.



In the left margin of the Register, towards the end of the bull is written, by the hand that wrote the collation :

Superscripta Bulla fuerat per Hadrianum tunc secretarium registrata prout in dorso Bulle apparet, quam vidi et abscultavi cum presenti ac registravi de Mandato S. D. N. pp. Clementis referente R^mo D. L. Car^s Sanctorum 4^r etc. F. d att.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Alex. VI. Secret. Anno. I ad XI., Regest. 871, f^o 196^bis, ^vo.

DOCUMENT 210^b.

Pope Alexander VI orders the Governor of Rome to appoint tutors of the Infant Giovanni, illegitimate son of Cesar de Borgia.

Alexander PP. VI. Ven. fri. F. archiepiscopo Surentin. Alme Urbis Gubernatori ac Vicecamerario nostro. Cupientes dilecto filio Johanni de Borgia Infanti Duci Nepesino Ill^io viri Cesaris Borgia de Francia Valentin. et Romandiole Ducis illegitimo Filio de tutoribus qui personam dignitates, honores, jurisdictiones et bona quecumque ejusdem pupilli tueri gubernare et administrare valeant. Motu proprio et ex certa scientia ac ex officio nostro pastorali tibi committimus et mandamus, quatenus dilectos filios A. tt. Sancte Praxedis et Jo. tt. S^torum Nerei et Achillei, et F. tt. S^te Cecilie presbyteros, et Hypolitum S^te Lucie in Silice diaconum Cardinales et eorum quemlibet in solidum eidem Johanni in tutores apostolica auctoritate deputes et des, eisdemque tutoribus et eorum cuilibet in solidum tutelam persone gubernationem et administrationem plenam liberam et omnimodam dignitatum ducatuum, comitatuum, civitatum, baroniarum, dominiorum, locorum, jurisdictionum meri ac mixti imperii et quorumcumque et bonorum ubicumque existentium ejusdem Johannis pupilli donec ad pubertatem pervenerit assignes, decernasque auctoritate nostra quod quilibet eorum in solidum etiam et per se vel alium seu alios per ipsos tutores, vel eorum alterum, simul vel successive deputandos tutelam hujusmodi dignitatesque officia jurisdictiones et omnia premissa et hono-

res ac bona presentia et futura ejusdem pupilli regere et administrare in judicio et extra in quibuscumque causis et negotiis prout quilibet tutor possit, et pari modo eisdem cardinalibus et cuilibet ex eis concedas quod quilibet eorum negotium per alterum ipsorum ceptum continuare resumere et ad effectum perducere possit, Et alter ipsorum pro alio vel de gestis per alium vel substitutos eorum vel alicujus ex eis non obligetur. Et nihilominus tenore presentium Motu et scientia et ex officio similibus, ne utilitas Johannis infantis prefati quovis modo impediatur, tibi injungimus ut prefato F. Car^li^ S^te^ Cecilie administrationem et gubernationem predicte tutele et aliorum omnium predictorum in solidum de consensu aliorum Cardinalium prefatorum contutorum, concedas. Et insuper quoniam de prefatis Car^bus^ et quolibet eorum plenam fiduciam habemus eisdem omnibus et singulis remittimus ut nec ad juramentum aliquod, quod in tutelis suscipiendis vel administrandis prestari de jure vel consuetudine debuisset, neque ad alicujus inventarii bonorum ejusdem pupilli confectionem neque ad reddendum rationem administrationis vel negligentie alicujus circa tutelam predictam aliquo modo teneantur, sed omnia ad dictam tutelam et omnium et singulorum predictorum administrationem attinentia perinde quilibet ex eis in judicio et extra exercere possit ac si predicte solemnitates et alia a jure constitutionibus apostolicis vel statutis municipalibus vel consuetudinibus Alme Urbis seu aliorum locorum requisite in datione concessione et susceptione tutele hujusmodi intervenissent. Decernentes irritum et inane quicquid in contrarium contingerit attemptari. Constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, legibus illis presertim quibus cavetur ut persone ecclesiastice aut in dignitate vel cardinalatus vel Pontificali constitute tutelas hujusmodi suscipere vel administrare non possint, ceterisque in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex VI. Secret. An. I ad XI. Lib. V., Regest 871, f° 144.

DOCUMENT 211 (and 212).

Forged bulls of the Roman Infant, Giovanni de Borgia's legitimation, as son of Cesar de Borgia (or as son of the Pope).

Hadrianus [1]. Alexander etc. Dilecto filio Nobili Johanni de Borgia Infanti *Roman.* [2] *Salut.* etc. Illegitime genitos ex quorum verisimilibus Infantilis etatis Indiciis spes concipi potest quod succedentibus annis se in viros debeant producere virtuosos quosque progenitorum suorum preclara merita et ortus generosa propago decorant Nature vicium minime decolorat quia decus virtutum geniture maculam abstergit in filiis [3] pudicia morum pudor originis aboletur. Attendentes igitur quod sicut indubie credimus et habet fidedignorum assertio tu qui ut creditur *deffectum* Natalium pateris de dilecto filio Nobili viro Cesare Borgia [4] de francia Romandiole et Valentie duce soluto ad *p̄ns* gentium *N̄rarum* et Sancte *Roman̄. eccl̄ie* Armigerarum Capitaneo et *c̄ofalonerio gnāli* genitus et soluta et in Tertio vel circa tue etatis anno *c̄ostitutus* existis *deffectum* predictum succedentibus tibi annis honestate morum et vite aliisque *probitat̄s* et virtutum meritis multipliciter *recompēsabis* redimens favore Virtutum quod in te ortus odiosus ademit et propterea volentes te premissorum intuitu favore prosequi gratie specialis Motu proprio non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate *petitiōis* Instantiam sed de *n̄ra* mera Liberalitate et ex certa *sciēn* ac de *aplic̄e ptātis* plenitudine tecum ut in quibuscumque Civitatibus dominiis ducatibus comitatibus Baronijs Terris Castris oppidis Locis palaciis domibus possessionibus aliisve bonis ac Juribus omnibus prefati Cesaris ducis eiusque fris et sororis ac parentum agnatorum cognatorum *c̄osanguineōrum*

1. In margin. The markings of the records of these two bulls, such as " Hadrianus, S. Pinzonibus or S. Pinzonus, Coll. F. de Attanantis or Attavantis, etc., and all the marginal corrections but one are of the same hand ; different, however, from that of the copyist. Only two or three more records in the whole volume have any such marginal corrections.

2. We print in italics the spellings and abbreviations that are unknown in the Registers of pope Alexander VI, showing that the entries of these bulls are of a later date.

3. Correction in margin : " et ".

4. Not, de Borgia.

Affinium tuorum et aliorum quorumcumque cuiuscumque qualitatis quantitatis denominationis valoris et pretii etiam quantumcumque notabilis et maximi fuerint *et* si eisdem Cesari duci *fri* sorori suis parentibus agnatis cognatis *cosanguineis* et affinibus vel eorum progenitoribus et aliis quibuscumque pro se et descendentibus Legitimis et Naturalibus in perpetuum vel ad tempus aut in certam *gnationem* a *Roman* vel aliis *ecclijs* monasterijs locis ac personis *eccis* secularibus vel Regularibus in vicariatum feudum censuale seu Nobile antiquum paternum et avitum seu retrofeudum vel in emphiteosim Livellum locationem seu censum aut *als quomolibet* concessa forent et Imposterum concederentur aut a progenitoribus *prefats* eisdem Cesari duci *fri* sorori *paretibus* agnitis cognatis consanguineis et affinibus ac aliis quibuscumque donata relicta vel Legata aut *als cocessa* seu hereditate fidei *comissa* vel alio quovis titulo in eos etiam cum prohibitione quod ad Illegitimos devenire non possint translata *existeret* et *transferretur* seu *concederetur* in futurum tam ex testamento *q* ab intestato absque tamen preiudicio Illorum qui si Cesar dux frater soror eius *paretes* agniti cognati *cosanguinej* et affines predicti Intestati decederent succedere deberent succedere et ad illa et quorumcumque alia similia vel dissimilia fidei *comisse* Legati *donatiois* inter vivos causa mortis aut quovis alio titulo quo *et* a nobis et sede *aplica* imposterum Illa tibi concedi dari et donari quovismodo contingeret devenire eaque *Recipe cosequi* habere possidere et retinere ac in eisdem Civitatibus dominijs ducatibus Comitatibus Baronijs terris Castris oppidis atque locis vicarij feudatarii et superioris in Illis nomine jurisdictione imperio *proeminetia* honore *auctae* fungi et potiri ac de eisdem Civitatibus dominijs ducatibus Comitatibus Baronijs Castris oppidis terris Locis iuribus palacijs domibus possessionibus atque bonis *dispone* [5] in illis successores et heredes habere ac ad honores dignitates *magratus* et Officia quecumque secularia publica et privata eligi recipi et assumi illaque et quoscumque actus Legitimos cuiuscumque *qualitats denotionis* fuerint [6] et de fami-

5. Correction in margin : " et ".
6. Correction in margin : " *gerer* et *exercer* ac *d* agnatione cesaris ducis ".

lia de Borgia *hmoi ee* censeri et *noiari* ac nobilitate Insignibus Armis privilegijs concessionibus Juribus Indultis Libertatibus prerogativis et preeminentijs quibus Legitime geniti de familia predicta utuntur potiuntur et gaudent ac uti potiri et gaudere poterunt *quomolibet* in futurum uti potiri et *gaude* Libere Licite et efficaciter possis et debeas tuque et Cesar dux frater soror eius agnati cognati consanguinej et affines pretati invicem agnati cognati *cosanguinei* et affines vere et omni prorsus fictione cessante quo ad omnes Juris *comunis* et municipalis concessionumque predictarum et alios quoscumque plenissimos effectus sitis in omnibus et per omnia et sine ulla prorsus *differetia* proinde ac si de Legitimo Thoro procreatus fores *aucte aplica* tenore *pntium de spcilis* dono *grae* dispensamus tibi que pariter Indulgemus teque quo ad premissa omnia et quecumque et qualiacumque alia eisdem Motu *scietia aucte* et *ptats* plenitudine [7] similibus restituimus et reintegramus ac Legitimatum et vere Ingenuitati iustisque Natalibus *hmoj* plenissime et *et* efficacissime omnino restitutum et reintegratum decernimus ac nunciamus per *pntes* Tibique ut in *otibus* et singulis per te de cetero a nobis et sede predicta ac *Legats* eiusdem seu *cls quomolibet* Impetrationibus gratiis Indultis concessionibus privilegiis Libertatibus Immunitatibus *exemption* dispensationibus et *Lris* obtinendis seu *als* concedendis *gram* et Justitiam aut utrumque mixtim *concernetibus* nullam de *deffectu* et dispensatione *hmoj* mentionem facere tenearis nec *grae* et *Lre* desuper conficiende propterea de subreptionis *obiextion* et *nullitats* vicio aut intentionis *defectu* Notari possint sed perinde valeant plenamque Roboris firmitatem obtineant et tibi *suffragetur* in omnibus et per omnia ac si de *deffectu* et *dispensation predictis* plena et expressa *metio* facta fuisset Eisdem motu *scietia aucte* et *ptats* plenitudine concedimus. Et nichilominus Cesari duc *fri* sorori suis *agnats cognats* consanguineis affinibus et alijs quibuscumque de Civitatibus dominijs ducatibus Comitatibus Baronijs terris castris Oppidis et Locis Juribus

7. Correction in margin : " legitimamus ac vere Ingenuitati et Justis Natalibus plenissime et etiam efficacissime motu scientia *aucte* et *ptatis* plenitudine ".

palaciis domibus possesionibus ac Bonis omnibus ad eos ex successione *paretum* agnatorum cognatorum *cōsanguineorum* et affinium suorum ac *ālś quomōlibet* Legitime *nūc* et pro tempore *pertinētibus* in favorem tui testandi et de Illis *ālś* pro eorum Libito voluntatis disponendi Illaque inter vivos et causa mortis tibi donandi ac *ālś* prout eis videbitur et placebit concedendi paribus motu scientia *aucte* et *ptātis* plenitudine plenam Liberam *et onmodam* libertatem *ptātem* et facultatem elargimur *decernēn* quas fieri contingerit tibi donationis *hmoj* de predictis omnibus et quibuslibet alijs bonis tam a Cesare duce *frē* sorore suis agnatis et cognatis *cosānguineis* et affinibus *prefātś quā* alijs quibuscumque et a nobis et sede prefata que de Jure aut ex forma statutorum Urbis aut *aliōr* Locorum Insinuationum seu aliam solemnitatem per statuta *ipā* ultra Juris formam adinventam exigerent absque Insinuatione et solemnitate *hmoj* validas et efficaces fore et observari *debē* in omnibus et per omnia perinde acsi donationes *ipē* insinuatione et solemnitatibus debitis et *requisitś interveniētibus* et *ālś* Legitime fierent et facte fuissent, ac *pntes* si ullo unquam tempore forsan dubitari et tibi opponi contingeret te forsan dictum *deffectum* de alio quam duce prefato pati quem *ēt quocumque* modo ex quacumque alia persona *eccl̄iastica* vel seculari *ēt* cuiuscumque *dignitatś* et excellentie mundane vel *eccce ēt* supreme et tali quod de illa *spālis specifficia* et expressa mentio habenda illaque omnino *spāli* Nota digna foret alioquin *pntium totali* periret effectus Illum patiaris vel pati dici posses ad omne dubium submovendum et cavillationes evitandas quietique tue consulendum eisdem motu *scietia aucte* et *ptatś* plenitudine haberi volumus pro plenissime et sufficienter expresso eam vim eumdemque vigorem et effectum omnino *cōsequi* et sortiri tibique suffragari debere ac si dictus *deffectus* quicumque fuerit et *ēe* dici posset *ālś speciffice* et plenissime expressus fuisset *ipasque pntes* ad probandum *ēt* plenissime *deffectum* predictum *quomōcumque* et undecumque proveniat ut prefertur in iudicio et extra ac *ālś* ubilibet *ēt* plenissime sufficere nec ad id *probatiōn* alterius adminiculum Requiri sicque per quoscumque Judices et *cōmissarios ēt Ste Romān ecclie* cardinales ac causarum palacij

aplici Auditores in quacumque instantia sublata eis et cuilibet eorum quavis alia Interpretandi facultate sententiari *diffiniri* et iudicari *debe* Irritum quoque et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis *aucte scieter* vel ignoranter *cotigerit* attemptari. Non *obstan deffectu* et alijs premissis ac *constitution* et *ordination aplics* Legibus quoque temporalibus et dicte Urbis Necnon *Civitatu* et Locorum aliorum municipalibus *Statuts* et consuetudinibus *et Jurato cofirmation aplica* vel quavis firmitate *alia Roborats* editis et edendis *et* insinuationem et alias solemnitates *hmoj* exigentibus et quibus caveretur expresse quod Illegitimi succedere non possent et que *et* Cesar dux frater soror suj agniti cognati *cosanguinej* et affines prefati observare Jurassent et Jurarent imposterum que quidem Juramenta eis quo ad hoc relaxamus necnon *testator* et donantium ac aliorum *quorulibet* prohibitionibus quodque vicariatum feudorum in emphiteosim censum Locationem et Livellum concessiones hujusmodi pro vere et non ficte Legitime descendentibus et genitis emanarint atque processerint ac emanarent et procederent in futurum quibus omnibus *et* si de illis eorumque totis tenoribus pro illorum *sufficieti* derogatione *spalis speciffica* expressa Individua ac de verbo ad verbum non autem per *gnales* clausulas id *importan metio* seu quevis alia expressio habenda foret et in eis caveretur expressa quod illis nullatenus posset derogari tenores *hmoj pntibus* pro sufficienter ac de verbo ad verbum expressis et Insertis *haben* Illis *als* in suo Robore *permasuris* quoad premissa eisdem motu *scietia aucte* et *ptats* plenitudine *spalr* et expresse omnino derogamus et derogatum esse volumus ceterisque *cotrariis* quibuscumque. Nulli etc. *nre dispensations* Indulti *Legitimations restitutions reintegrations nuciations* concessionis elargitionis decreti *voluntats relaxations* et *derogations* Infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno etc. *Millo quingetesimo* primo Kl. Septembris *Pontus nri* anno decimo

S. Pinzonibus

Coll F. de Attan (v.) antis
R^m a tergo bull. vz *Regratum* apud me Hadrianum
De R^mi S^rm quatuor *et regraris*

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Alex. VI. Secret An. 8 ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868 f° 153^vo.

DOCUMENT 212 [1].

Hadrianus [2]. Alexander Ep^us etc. Dilecto filio Nobili Johanni de Borgia Infanti *Roman Salūt* etc. Spes future *probitats* que ex *verissimilibus* tue Infantilis etatis Indiciis concipi potest quod succedentibus annis te in virum debeas producere virtuosum merito nos inducit ut te *spalibus* favoribus et graciis prosequamur Hodie siquidem tecum in tertio vel circa tue etatis anno constituto ut *no* obstante *deffectu* natalium quem te de dilecto filio nobili viro Cesare Borgia de Francis Romandiole et Valentie duce *coiugato nrar* et Sancte *Roman ecclie* gentium Armigerarum Capitaneo et *cofalonerio gnali* genitum et soluta pati expressum fuit Ut in quibuscumque Civitatibus dominiis ducatibus Comitatibus Baronijs terris castris Oppidis Locis palacijs domibus possessionibus aliisve bonis et Juribus [3] prefati Cesaris ducis eiusque *fris* et sororis ac parentum agnatorum [4] *cosanguineorum* affinium tuorum et aliorum quorumcumque cuiuscumque *qualitats quantitats denomination* valoris et pretij *et* quantumcumque [5] et maximi forent *et* si eisdem Cesari duci *fri* sorori suis parentibus *agnats cognats cosanguineis* et affinibus vel eorum progenitoribus et alijs quibuscumque pro se et descendentibus Legitimis et Naturalibus In perpetuum vel ad tempus aut in certam *gnationem* a *Roman* vel aliis *eccliis* Monasterijs Locis ac personis *eccliastics* secularibus vel Regularibus in vicariatum feudum Censuale seu nobile Antiquum paternum et avitum seu Retrofeudum vel in emphiteosim aut Livellum Locationem seu Censum aut *als quomolibet cocessa* et in eos

1. See Nr. 211.
2. In margin.
3. Correction in margin : " Omnibus ".
4. Correction in margin : " *Conatorum* ".
5. Correction in margin : " Notabilis ".

trāslata forent et Imposterum concederentur et *trāsferrētur* tam ex *testamēto* quam ab *Intesto* absque tamen preiudicio *Illōr* qui si Cesar dux et alij predicti Intestati decederent deberent *succedere* et ad Illa ac quecumque alia similia vel dissimilia quovis titulo quo *ēt* a nobis et Sede *aplica* Illa tibi Imposterum concedi dari et donari *quovismō* contingerit devenire eaque *recipē cōsequi* habere possidere et retinere ac de Illis *dispōnē* et in eis successores et heredes habere et ad honores dignitates *magrātus* et officia quecumque secularia publica [6] privata eligi Recipi et assumi Illaque et quoscumque actus Legitimos cuiuscumque *qualitatīs* et *denominatiōn* fuerint gerere et excercere ac de Agnatione et de familia de Borgia *hmōj* esse censeri et nominari ac nobilitate Insignibus armis privilegijs concessionibus Juribus Indultis Libertatibus prerogativis et *preeminētiis* quibus Legitime geniti de familia predicta utuntur potiuntur et gaudent ac uti potiri et *gaudē* [7] Libere Licite et eficaciter posses et deberes Motu proprio et ex certa scientia ac de *aplīce plātis* plenitudine *āucte aplica* dispensavimus tibique pariter Indulsimus teque quoad premissa omnia et quecumque et qualiacumque alia Legitimamus et vere Ingenuitati et Justis Natalibus plenissime et efficacissime omnino restituimus et reintegramus ac alia fecimus *cōcessimus* et decrevjmus prout in aliis *nris* desuper *cōfects Lris* quarum tenores ac si de verbo ad verbum *pntibus Insererētur* haberi volumus pro *sufficiēter* expressis et Insertis ac quarum plenissimam *sciētiam* [8] habemus plenibus *cōtinetur* Cum autem tu *deffectum* predictum *nō* de prefato duce sed de nobis et dicta muliere soluta patiaris quod bono Respectu in *Lris pred speciffice exprimē* Noluimus Nos ne ullo *ūnq* tempore contingat *Lras* predictas de *Intention deffectu* et *nullitatīs* vitio notari teque desuper molestari tempore procedente debite *providē* ac te *grōso* favore prosequi *Volēn* Motu simili *nō* ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate *petition Instām* Sed de *nra* mera Liberali-

6. Correction in margin : " et ".

7. Correction in margin : " poterunt quōmobt In futurum uti potiri gaudere.

8. Correction in margin : " et notitiam ".

tate ac de *Liberation* eisdem *scientia ptatis* plenitudine et *aucte* tenore *pntium* Volumus tibique concedimus quod *Lre dispesatio* Legitimatio Restitutio Reintegraconcessio Indultum et Secretum predicta omniaque et singula in *Lris* contenta concessa et expressa ac pro tempore Indesecuta valeant plenamque Roboris firmitatem obtineant et tibi *suffragetur* in omnibus et per omnia *et* tam quo ad successionem quam omnia et singula alia in Illis expressa contenta et concessa *hmoj* perinde ac si in eisdem *Lris* quod dictum *deffectum* de nobis ac dicta muliere soluta patiebaris expressum fuisset. Et nichilominus si contingerit te tempore procedente in quibuscumque *Lris* scripturis et *instrumetis* cuiuscumque *qualitats* et *condition* et donationibus et concessionibus etiam quantumcumque maximis *et* a nobis et sede predicta ac prefatis duce *fre* et sorore suis et aliis quibuscumque [9] faciendis *Lrisque aplics* desuper concedendis prefati ducis filium dici et nominari ac quoscumque alios actus sub dicta *noiatione quovismo* gerere et exercere Ac insignibus et armis *prefat.* Cesaris ducis *et* publice *quomolibet* uti Motu *scietia ptatis* plenitudine et *aucte* similibus declaramus nullam propterea tibi preiudicium *quomolj* afferri Nec *pntibus* in aliquo derogatum censeri [10] omnia a nobis et sede predicta Duce *fre* Sorore suis *prefats* et aliis quibuscumque personis in tui favorem et *comodum* pro tempore concessa et per te *et* pro tempore gesta et facta in quibus prefati ducis natus fueris *noiatus* eam vim eum vigorem eumdemque effectum in omnibus et per omnia sortiri ac operari posse sive debere quos operarentur et sortirentur in illis *nr* et non prefati *ducs* Natus *Noiatus* fores et nominareris Nec ullo unquam tempore illis quovis quesito colore via causa modo forma de Jure vel de facto in Iudicio *ex*[a] [11] *nullitats* ac subreptionis et *obreption* vicio *necno intention deffectu* opponi seu objci posse *quomocumque* supplentes eisdem Motu scientia [12] ac *ptats* plenitudine omnes et singulos tam Juris *q* facti *deffectus* si qui forsan premissorum *occone* Intervenire pretendi possent

9. Correction in margin : " personis tibi ".
10. Correction in margin : " sed ".
11. Correction in the text : " de ".
12. Correction in margin : " *aucte* ".

et [13] eisdem at *decernētes* sic per quoscumque Iudices et *cōmissarios* etiam *causār* palatii *aplīci* Auditores Ac sancte *Romān ecclie* Cardinales in quacumque Instantia sublata eis [14] eorum cuilibet quavis alia Interpretandi facultate sententiari *diffiniri* et Judicari *debē* Irritum quoque et Inane si secus super hijs a *quoq̄* quavis *aūcte* scienter vel Ignoranter contingerit attemptarj Non *obstān* premissis ac *Constitutiōn* et *ordinatiōn aplīcs* Legibus quoque Imperialibus necnon omnibus illis que in *Lr̄is* predictis volumus non obstare ceterisque contrarijs quibuscumque Nulli etc *nr̄e voluntatis concessiōn* declarationis *suppletiōn* et decreti Infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum petrum Anno Incarnationis dominice *Millō* quingentesimo primo: *Kl̄* Septembris *Pontūs* nostri anno decimo

S. Pinzonus

Coll̄ F. de Attan(v)antis

De mant° R^mi^ D. Car^s^ *Sōr Cn̄atorum Regr̄aris* ex *q̄* ad *dorsū Eiusdē* est *Regrāt*

apud me *Hadrianū*

Archiv. Secret Vatic. Alex. VI Secret. An VIII ad XI. Lib. II, Regest. 868, f° 174.

DOCUMENT 213.

Pope Pius III cares for Cesar de Borgia and his troops in Nepi.

Pius PP. III. Universis et singulis praesentes nostras litteras inspecturis Sal. et ap. b. Cum dilectus filius nobilis vir Cesar Borgia de Francia dux Romandiolae et Valenciae S. R. E. Confalonerius sub nostra et Sedis apostolicae hobedientia in civitate Nepesina cum exercitu gentium armigerarum se receperit, facturus ea quae sibi injungenda duxerimus, nos cupientes ut ei pro se et dictis gentibus de opportunis victualibus provideatur, vobis omnibus et singulis communitatibus et personis quarumcumque civitatum, terrarum castrorum et locorum nobis et

13. For : " in ".

14. Correction in margin : " et ".

S. R. E. mediate et immediate subjectorum sub indignationis et rebellionis paenis expresse praecipiendo mandamus ut de opportunis victualiis quemadmodum apertius Latore harum propter ea instructi fueritis omni excusatione et exceptione cessantibus, pro justo et conveniente pretio provideatis, si indignationem nostram et paenas praedictas quas statim...

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris (2)3ia Sept. 1503. Pont. nri anno primo.

Archivio Communale di Città Castellana. Consigli Secreti 1499-1500, Dive 4ta, Vol. 58.

DOCUMENT 214.

Pope Pius III condemns a league against Cesar de Borgia.

Pius Papa III. Dilecti filii Salutem et apostolicam Benedictionem. Non sine gravi displicentia et perturbatione nuper actionis et *obreption.* vicio *necno intention. defectu* opponi seu cepimus Johannem Paulum de Ballionibus, Fabium Orsinum, Ludovicum de Aptis et Bartolomeum de Alviano et alios eorum complices conventiculas et gentium coadunationes facere, nonnullarum civitatum terrarumque et locorum nostrorum perturbationem et diremptionem molientes, et contra dilectum filium Nobilem Virum Caesarem Borgia de Francia, ducem Romandiolae et Valentiae, Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Confalonerium, qui sub nostra et apostolicae Sedis obedientia ad mandata nostra persistit, conjurare. Quas quidem conventiculas et coadunationes sine nostra licentia et paenarum per constitutiones provinciales constitutarum incursu fieri non posse noscuntur. Cum (jam ?) ad dictarum et aliarum per nos illis et complicibus suis comminatarum paenarum (executionem ?), nisi protinus destiterint, irremissibiliter processuri sumus. Quare e tanti excessus reatu et paenarum inflictatione pro pastorali officio et paterna charitate vos praeservare cupientes, harum serie et tenore vobis committimus et mandamus ut cives nostros et comitativos a dictis conventiculis et coadunationibus contineatis ac profecto absque ulla mora et tergiversatione revocetis, provideatisque ne illi civitati terrae et loco juris Ecclesiae damnum vel injuriam inferant, nec quicquam contra praefatum

Ducem et suos facere praesumant, si ultra dictarum paenarum executionem, indignationem nostram cupitis evitare. Super quibus et aliis similia concernentibus plenam fidem et obedientiam Venerabili Fratri Silvestro Gilio Episcopo Vigorniensi, commissario nostro praestari volumus et mandamus. Datum Rome apud sanctumpetrum die vigesima quinta Septembris 1503, ante nostram coronationem. *A tergo :* Dilectis filiis Prioribus Artium et Communi Civitatis nostrae Perusinae.

Leonii, Bartolomeo d'Alviano, p. 167 ; from A. Fabretti, Biografie dei Capitani Venturieri ; Archiv. Stor. Ital., t. XVI, P. II, p. 595.

DOCUMENT 215.

Pope Pius III writes to Venice in favor of Cesar de Borgia.

Dilecto filio nobili viro Leonardo Lauredano, duci Venetiarum.

Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Existimamus non latere Nobilitatem Tuam, civitates et terras ducatus Romandiolae, ad Sedem Apostolicam pertinentes, felicis recordationis Alexandrum papam Sextum, predecessorem nostrum, dilecto filio nobili viro Cesari Borgie, duci Romandiolae et Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae confalonerio, de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalium (de quorum numero tunc eramus) Consilio, in vacariatum concessisse. Ad nostram quoque notitiam pervenit, istud inclitum Dominium postea eumdem Ducem ac predictum ducatum omnesque alios eius status, in suam protectionem et defensionem suscepisse ; et insuper meminimus, quod, post prefati predecessoris nostri obitum, scriptum est ab eorumdem venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Collegio ad Tuam Nobilitatem, ab eodem Collegio eumdem Ducem et status eius, ubique existentes, in suam et eiusdem Ecclesiae protectionem et defensionem fuisse susceptos. Ex quo fit ut, cum non mediocri admiratione et grave displicentia, intellexerimus istius Dominii gentes armigeras fines dicti ducatus Romandiolae transgressas ; Cesenam, eiusdem ducatus civitatem, per vim et insidias capere tentasse ; nec adduci possumus ut credamus, id voluntate Nobilitatis Tuae actum fuisse, in predicti Collegii et suae ipsius protectionis

contemptum, ac nostrum et huius Sanctae Sedis grave preiuditium ; quorum proprii iuris dictus ducatus existit ; et convenit christianos principes Romanae Ecclesiae iura tueri potius et augere, quam offendere et diminuere. Quapropter Tuam Nobilitatem in Domino hortamur et attente requirimus, ut gentes ipsarum quamprimum inde revocet, statuatque, ne in posterum eidem ducatui incommodum inferant. Quod erit nobis pergratum, et in hoc Nobilitas Tua faciet rem sua et eiusdem Dominii iustitia et equitate dignam.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXV septembris 1503, ante nostram coronationem.

Vallori, Dispacci di Ant. Giustinian, vol. II, p. 475 ; from Archiv. gen. di Venezzia, Senati Secreta, Reg. 54, f° 114.

DOCUMENT 216.

Pope Julius II writes to Faenza in favor of Cesar de Borgia.

Dilectis filiis Antianis Populi, Consilio et Communi Civitatis Faventiae.

Julius etc. Dilecti filii Salutem etc. Cum dilectus filius nobilis vir Cesar Borgia de Francia Dux Romandiolae S. R. E. Confalonerius post obitum fe. re. Alexandri VI. Praedecessoris nostri, se Sacro Collegio et deinde sanctae me. Pio III etiam nostro praedecessori immediato et Nobis obedientissimum obsequientissimum praebuerit, spemque optimam de eo conceperimus, ut Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae in opportunitatibus admodum utilis sit futurus, Nos, qui illum paterna charitate complectimur, praemissorum consideratione, eum vobis duximus commendandum, mandantes expresse, ut ei tanquam nostro in temporalibus Vicario in Ducatu Romandiolae Generali pareatis, obediatis et intendatis juxta formam literarum apostolicarum super Vicariatu hujusmodi concessarum, Et si qui forsan in terris dicto Duci commissis temerario ausu se ingesserint, eos rejiciatis et repellatis, prout bonos et fideles S. R. E. subditos et filios decet. In quo praeterquam quod nostro officio vestraeque fidei satisfacietis, gratissimum nobis erit ; nam si secus, quod absit, contingeret fieri, non possemus id non molestissime ferre et debita animadversione inobedientiae punire. Datum Romae

apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 3 Novembris M D III ante nostram coronationem.

Tonduzzi, Historie di Faenza, p. 567.

DOCUMENT 217.

Pope Julius II grants a safe-conduct to Cesar de Borgia.

Cesari Borgie Duci Valentin.

Cum tua nobilitas consiliis nostris paternis obtemperans, pro securitate et quiete Nri. et S. R. E. Statum, intersignia arcium terrarum et locorum Romandiole que habebat, nobis benigne ac prompte obtulerit, proque consignatione dictarum arcium terrarum et locorum predictorum Dilectum filium Petrum de Oviedo, cubicularium nostrum miserit, Nos eandem nobilitatem tuam benigno favore prosequi cupientes, eidem nobilitati tue tenore presentium ex nunc liberaliter et benigne concedimus ut, facta consignatione arcium terrarum et locorum predictorum que in potestate tua sunt, quocumque volueris, cum omnibus tuis rebus et bonis ac familia et sequacibus, cum nostra gratia et benedictione, terra vel mari proficisci possis, sub fede et verbo pontificis tibi promittimus et juramus nos hujusmodi profectionem tuam non denegaturos, nec eam a quoquam, quantum in nobis fuerit, impediri permissuros. Mandantes etiam per presentes omnibus et singulis nostris et dicte ecclesie subditis et officialibus cujuscumque status et conditionis fuerint, ne contra nobilitatem tuam bona et sequaces predictos aliquid in contrarium attemptare presumant, pro quanto gratiam nram, caram habent. In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. VIII Decembr. 1504 (sic, for 1503) anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Armar. 39, n. 22, f° 2.

DOCUMENT 218.

Pope Julius II gives Cesar's castellans a safe-conduct to come and speak with him.

Johanni Archiepiscopo Ragusino.

Convenimus cum Dilecto filio nostro B. tituli Sancte Crucis presbitero cardinali, Patriarche hierosolimitano, ut Cesarem

Borgiam Valentinen. Ducem in Arcem nostram Civitevetule ducat, et si ipse Dux Arces istius nostre provincie Romandiole nobis vel nostris commissariis intra prefixum tempus prout promisit restituet, quo voluerit eum ire permittat, si minus ad nos reducat. Et ut castellani dictarum Arcium illi aut eorum nuntii eo faciliores sint in restitutione huiusmodi, quo certiores fuerint de premissis, concessimus Salvum conductum cuilibet Castellano vel illi quem quilibet ipsorum mittendum duxerit, ad videndum ipsum Ducem e custodia qua hactenus apud nos detentus fuerat relaxatum. Quo salvo conductu freti tute venire redireque possint ; et si forte soli venire dubitarent, poterit Fraternitas tua, si tibi videbitur, mittere una cum ipsis unum civem vel familiarem tuum, qui eos comitetur. Scribimus etiam Antonio de Ordelaphis et Communitati Forlivii duo brevia credititia in tuam personam, quibus uti poteris prout res poscet. Hec autem Fraternitati tue significanda duximus ut omnem progressum rerum cognoscat, et ingenium suum applicet ad ea que pro exequutione illarum duxerit opportuna. Datum ut supra XXVIIII Januarii M D IIII. Anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Brevia Julii II. Arm^{ii} 39, t. 22, f° 10.

DOCUMENT 219.

Safe-conduct through the Pontifical States, for the castellans of Cesena and Bretinoro.

Didaco de (Quignonez).

Ut ex ista nostra arce Cesenaten. Securius ac celerius possitis discedere et ad nos aut almam urbem nostram, ac quecumque alia loca proficisci, harum serie vobis et cuilibet vestrum plenam et liberam securitatem ac validum salvum conductum et fidem publicam damus atque concedimus, ut per omnes nostras et Sancte Romane Ecclesie terras ac loca nobis mediate vel immediate subiecta, cum omnibus familiaribus, sociis, rebus ac bonis vestris et Ducis Valentin. ex dicta arce exportandis : Exceptis tamen rebus dilecti filii nobilis viri Guidonis ducis Urbini, que in dicta arce fuerint et quas in ea volumus permanere, Ire Transireque libere et secure, absque ullo impedimento reali vel

personali possitis et valeatis. Mandantes propterea Gubernatoribus, Universitatibus, Domicellis, officialibus et particularibus personis in dictis terris et locis constitutis, gentium quoque armigerarum capitaneis et Ductoribus Nobis et Romane ecclesie militantibus ne vobis in persona aut bonis predictis iniuriam molestiam vel offensam inferre audeant, sed hunc nostrum salvum conductum vobis integre observent, et faciant ab omnibus aliis observari, in quantum gratiam nostram promereri et indignationem evitare desiderant. In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. Datum Rome VII Martii M° D. IIII. Anno primo.

Rovegna Castellano Britonorii.

Simile dilecto filio... Rovegna Castellano britonorii, cum additione istorum verborum infrascriptorum : Reliquos vero in domino hortantes ut pro nostra et sedis apostolice reverentia, vos in locis et terris suis per que iter facturi estis benigne pertractent hujus nostri salviconductus respectu.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic. Julii II. Brevia, Armar. 39, t. 22, f° 30.

DOCUMENT 220.

Pope Julius II extends the forty days of his accord with Cesar de Borgia.

Cardinali Sancte Crucis.

Dilecte fili noster Salutem etc. Cum intra terminum quadraginta dierum omnes conditiones in bulla consistoriali super relaxatione vel restitutione dilecti filii nobilis viri Cesaris borgie de Francia Ducis valentin. expresse commode adimpleri non possint, Nos considerantes quod nec tua nec ipsius ducis voluntas in hac re defuit, sed potius conditio et varietas temporum, volentesque providere ne ob angustia temporis spes nostra tua et ipsius ducis in irritum cadat : dictos quadraginta dies ad alios decem illos immediate sequentes presentium tenore extendimus ac prorogamus, volumusque et declaramus quod conditiones in eadem bulla expresse que intra dictos decem dies adimplebuntur, perinde adimpleri censeantur, ac si intra terminum quadraginta dierum, ut prefertur, adimplete fuissent.

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Die XII Martii MDIIII anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Julii II. Brevia, Armar. 39, t. 22, f° 35.

DOCUMENT 221.

Brief of pope Julius II to the kings of Spain against Cesar de Borgia.

Regi et Regine Hispaniarum.

Carissime in christo fili noster et carissima in christo filia nostra Salutem etc. Cum in principio nostri pontificatus, venetorum Dominium civitates nostras Faventie et Arimini, nonnullaque alia loca in provincia nostra Romandiole occupassent, ac nobis iniuriam illam expostulantibus, civitatesque et loca ipsa repetentibus respondissent : se id odio Caesaris borgie Ducis valentinen, quem pro hoste habeant, fecisse, Nos civitates ipsas et totam illam provinciam, cui apertissime ipsi Veneti inhiabant Sancte Romane Ecclesie servare cupientes, matura deliberatione habita, nullam viam, nec faciliorem nec magis expeditam invenimus, quam ut ipse Caesar Dux Valentinen. Forlivien. Cesenaten et Britonorien. dicte nostre Provincie Arces que in eius potestate erant, Nobis redderet, quo facilius civitatem Faventinam recuperare, et a reliquis urbibus provincie antedicte venetorum impetum propulsare possemus ; Magno enim nobis dedecori ac conscientie oneri erat, si pateremur Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam nobis divina dispositione commissam, tot preclaris urbibus nostro tempore spoliari. Exercitum equidem nullum habebamus, nec pecunias, quibus illum comparare ea celeritate qua opus erat possemus. Itaque de consilio venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Sancte Romane Ecclesie cardinalium ad has conditiones cum ipso duce devenimus, quas ex exemplo bulle presentibus introcluso Majestates vestre intelligent. Delegimus autem cardinalem sancte crucis, cui ducem ipsum, qui ei plurimum confidebat, committeremus, pre ceteris etiam pro Majestatis vestre honore quarum negotiis idem cardinalis multum se semper ingessit, cuius suasu etiam postquam ipse ad arcem nostram hostiensem quam sibi in potestatem libere dederamus hac de causa, cum duce ipso profectus est, multa concessimus, que nunc in dedecus nostrum et grave

preiudicium apostolice sedis redundant. Nam cum idem Dux simulasset sibi castellanum, quem in Arce nostra forlivii posuerat, in ea nobis restituenda nolle parere, eodem cardinale sancte crucis multum instante, mutata conditione dicte Arcis restituende, contenti fuimus et concessimus ut depositis ab ipso Duce XV millibus ducatorum : totidem eius castellanus ipso pro restitutione poscebat, factaque reliquarum Arcium restitutione, relaxaretur, et insuper cum intra terminum quadraginta dierum in dicta bulla sibi prefixum, restitutionem huiusmodi nequaquam fecisset, ad nosque reduci vel remitti ab ipso cardinali propterea deberet, terminum ipsum de nostra magna benignitate, multum etiam dicto cardinale suadente et quodammodo impellente, ad decem dies primo, deinde ad decem alios prorogavimus. Sed cum antequam dicti ultimi dies elaberentur percepissemus eumdem Arcis forilivii castellanum cum omnia que petierat concesseramus a duce predicto premonitum ne Arcem illam restitueret nobis quotidie novas conditiones adiicere ac verba mutare, Nos cardinalem ipsum Sancte Crucis monuimus ut etiam si de restitutione predictarum arcium Cesene et Britonorii certior factus esset, Ducem ipsum non continue relaxaret, sed retineret aliquandiu, ne ipse Arcis forilivii Castellanus, prout facit, nobis illudere posset. Cardinalis tamen ipse monitis nostris neglectis, ea ipsa hora qua nuntium de restitutione Arcium Cesene et Britonorii accepit, licet intempesta nox esset insciis nobis dimisit. Qui non mari in triremibus nostris ad hoc eidem cardinali concessis et ab ipso duce petitis, ut costitutum erat, discessit, sed terra neapolim est profectus, Ibique a dilecto filio Nobili viro Gundisalvo fernandi vestrarum Magestatum Locumtenente generali, prout inter eos convenerat, sub illius salvoconductu receptus est, Ubi nunc non cessat moliri et agere que nobis et Sancte Romane ecclesie sint contraria, Nam ipsi Castellano Forlivii quem antea clam monuerat ne Arcem nobis redderet, nuper, ut compertum habemus, multas pecunias misit, effecitque ut Castellanus ipse prout timuimus, civitatem nostram Forlivien. tormentis bellicis verberare inceperit, et se nobis hostem quodammodo profiteatur. In has difficultates cardinalis sancte Crucis nos et Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam cuius honorabile membrum est coniecit, qui si monitis nostris parere et officii sui memor esse voluisset, melius honori suo et statui apostolice sedis esset consultum. Sue omnia

majestatibus vestris, quarum respectu multa ipsi Duci indulsimus significare voluimus, ut qui Sancte Romane Ecclesie devotissimi filii et constantissimi defensores semper fuistis, non permittatis ab homine in fidem vestram recepto statum eiumdem ecclesie perturbari, sed potius eum ita contineatis atque coherceatis, ut nihil adversus nos et eiusdem sancte Romane ecclesie statum possit moliri, mandando ei efficaciter et expresse ut Arcem ipsam Forliviensem nobis iuxta capitula cum castellano ipsius Arcis Forlivii inita et firmata ; nam id in voluntate et potestate ipsius ducis consistit, restitui faciat ; nam nos omnia que castellano eidem promisimus ad unguem observavimus, Super his ad longum cum dilecto filio Francisco de Rojas Maiestatis vestre apud nos oratore sumus loquuti, Cui etiam breve hoc nostrum ad vos mittendum dedimus. Non decet Maiestates vestras Catholicas pati atque permittere ut quicquam periculi statui Sancte Romane Ecclesie ab ipso duce valentin. dum in vestra tutela est oriatur, presertim cum id sine iactura et perturbatione totius Italie, vestraque infamia non possit accidere. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum die XI Mai M° DIIII. Pontificatus nostri anno primo

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Julii II, brevia, Armar. 39, t. 22, f° 52.

DOCUMENT 222.

Letter of pope Julius II to Gonsalvo Fernandez, vice-roy of Naples.

Dilecto filio Nobili viro Gundisalvo Fernandi Duci Terre Nove Regis et Regine Catholicorum Capitaneo Generali.

Dilecte fili Salutem etc. Post discessum Secretarii tui a nobis, cui et coram multa aperuimus, et exemplum bulle ac brevium nostrorum in negocio Ducis Valentinen. ad te deferendum tradimus, Nuntiatum est nobis Ducem ipsum pecunias ad castellanum forliviensem quem antea clam exortatus fuerat, ne eam Arcem Nobis restitueret, nuper misisse. Quod ut facilius credamus Castellani ipsius perfidia facit, qui iam civitatem nostram forliviensem cepit tormentis bellicis verberare et nomen ipsius Ducis, in contemptum et odium nostrum, non desinit acclamare: que nec expectioni nostre nec his que idem secretarius tuus nobis tuo nomine obtulit convenire videntur. Quocirca Nobili-

tatem tuam, cui hec ignota esse non dubitamus, hortamur in domino et paterne requirimus ut Ducem ipsum, in fidem tuam receptum, ita contineas atque coherceas, ne quicquam adversus nostrum et S^te^ Romane Ecclesie Statum possit moliri, efficaciter eum hortando et inducendo ut Arcem ipsam forlivii iuxta capitula cum castellano illius inita et a nobis impleta et observata restitui sine ulla tergiversatione et mora faciat ; nam id in eiusdem Ducis voluntate et potestate consistit ; considerare enim pro tua prudentia potes quod quicquid molestie nobis et S^te^ Romane Ecclesie Dux ipse inferret, Regi et Regine catholicis ac tibi ascriberetur. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Die XI Mai M^o^ DIIII^o^ Anno primo.

Archiv. Secret. Vatic., Julii II. Brevia, Arm. 39, t. 22, f^o^ 51^vo^.

DOCUMENT 223.

What Cesar de Borgia was.

Borgia Caesar erat, factis et nomine Caesar.
Aut nihil aut Caesar, dixit. Utrumque fuit.

DOCUMENT 224.

Sketch of cardinal Roderic de Borgia by Hartman Schedel.

Alexander Sextus papa, natione hyspanus, ex valentia civitate, rhodoricus boria antea vocatus, episcopus portuensis, Vacante Sede post obitum Innocentii octavi omnium suffragiis hoc anno pontifex creatus, Et ad S. ioannem lateranensem XXVI die augusti corona papali decoratus. Vir magni animi magneque prudentie. Is in adolescentia bononie studiis litterarum operam dedit, gymnasium illum scolasticum non paucis annis celebravit. Qui adeo virtutum gloria et disciplinarum laude et adeo singularum ac omnium rerum ornamento dotatus, ut Calixtus tercius pontifex summus, sedatis suo tempore ytalie rebus, cum novem cardinales creasset, et eneam senensem in cardinalem assumpsisset, Duos quoque ex sororibus ejus nepotes cardinales creavit : L. ioannem cognomento Milanum ex sorore nepotem, et rhodoricum hunc boriam, cujus virtutes et

glorie liquidissimum documentum extitit quod adhuc adolescens inter reverendissimos et excellentissimos cardinales constitutus, Vel etiam quod non multo post vicecancellarii locum sortitus. Horum omnium scientia preditus et experientia refertissimus vere designandus et evocandus fuit, qui fluctuantem petri naviculam gubernaret. Et si herilis et regia ipsius faciei dignitatem prese ferre videatur, Tamen in primis accedit nobilissima ejus natio hispaniensis, Inter ceteras universe terre provincias aeris salubritate temperata omniumque rerum copia et bonitate precipua viros progenerans, qui et corporis agilitate et ingenii acrimonia et omnium virtutum gloria summi et clarissimi semper extitere. Dehinc eximia eius valentia civitas, que et sui antiquitate et situs pulchritudine et virorum copia, et omnium mercimoniorum genere longe reliquas hiberie civitates antecellit. Nec non et illustris boriarum familia que eum peperit, qui vere nationem patriamque et familiam illustravit, Et recolende ac beatissime memorie avunculi eius Calixti semper emulator, litteralis discipline scientiarumque peritia et optima vivendi ratio. Adest humanitas illa inclita cum auctoritatis ratione servata, optimum et salubre consilium, adest et pietatis cultus, et omnium rerum cognitio que tam inclite dignitati expedire aut usui esse possint. Felix igitur tot virtutibus exornatus, in tam altissimi magistratus culmine collocatus, a deo optimo bene meritus. Speramus igitur eum universo generi christiano profuturum, et per rabidos itinerum amfractus perque sublimes et periculosos scopulos transmigraturum et semitam tandem affectatam feliciter occupaturum. Postremo ne longiori sue laudis commemorationi aliquos defatigari contingat, Ceteri sequentes eius acta laude digna persolvant. Hic pontificatu suscepto Maiestatem cum auctoritate augere conatus est. Et si in principio sui pontificatus adversitates sentiat, Magna tamen animo concepit. Benignissimus deus sua gratia donet ut singula ad utilitatem ac commodum reipublice christiane persequatur.

Hartman Schedel, Chronicarum Liber, p. CCLVI^{vo}.

IMPRIMATUR
Portland, Ore. May 8, 1923.
† A. CHRISTIE
Abp. of Oregon City.

AN IMPROVEMENT. — *I would be pleased not to have written the 30th footnote on p. 4 of vol. I against the great author, dr von Pastor.*

P. d. R.

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